



PORTRAIT OF A MUGHAL PRINCESS

From an old Painting

By courtesy of Mr. Samarendranath Gupta.

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MEMORY IMAGE AND ITS REVIVAL

BY SIR J. C. BOSE.

OF that mental revival of past experience which we call memory, we may notice two different types. One is the spontaneous and recurrent revival of some strong impression from which we cannot escape; in the second case the primary impression has faded away, and it is only after an effort that we succeed in reviving the latent image.

The phenomenon of memory then, is concerned with some after-effect of an impression induced by a stimulus. An investigation of the after-effects of stimulus on very simple types of living tissue, may throw some light on this obscure subject.

It should be borne in mind that excitation induced by stimulus may find different forms of expression according to the indicating apparatus; the same excitation may thus be exhibited by mechanical movement, electrical variation, or by sensory response.

As an instance of mechanical response to stimulus may be mentioned the sudden fall of the leaf or leaflets of certain sensitive plants like *Mimosa pudica* or *Biophytum sensitivum*. In these there is a cushion-like mass of tissue at the joint, the pulvinus, which serves as the motile organ. The stem in the stalk of the plant contains, as I have shewn elsewhere, a strand of tissue which conducts excitation in precisely the same manner as the nerve in the animal. Stimulus thus causes an excitatory impulse in the plant which, reaching the pulvinus, gives rise to an answering contraction, in consequence of which there is a sudden fall of the leaf or leaflets. On the cessation of stimulus there is a slow recovery, the leaf re-erecting itself to its normal outspread position. By means of a delicate apparatus a record may be taken of this response and recovery.

In the case of plants which possess no

motile organs, the excitatory reactions may still be detected by electrical response. I find that the tissue of a plant under excitation undergoes a sudden electric variation, the character and sign of which is exactly the same as that of an excited animal tissue. By means of suitable galvanometers the response of all plants and every organ of every plant may be recorded. The electric responses to stimulation are found to be similar to the mechanical responses given by motile organs.

In studying these records of mechanical or electrical responses, it is found that the effect of strong stimulus is more persistent than that of feeble stimulus. This is equally true of the psychological retention of an impression. Another noticeable fact as regards the subsidence of excitation or recovery, is that at first it is very rapid and then slows down. This is also characteristic of the rate of forgetting.

Another remarkable analogy is the effect of continued stimulation; the excitatory effect in the plant is found to increase at first with increasing duration, but when too long continued, the effect undergoes a rapid diminution on account of fatigue. Similarly there is an actual danger in "cram" of reducing the image to be remembered, to the dimness of an overexposed photograph.

MULTIPLE RESPONSE AND RECURRENT MEMORY.

I have described how a single stimulus of moderate intensity, gives rise to a single response. Taking *Biophytum sensitivum* as our experimental plant, we may thus obtain a series of single responses to moderate stimulus. But if the impinging stimulus be very strong, then it induces multiple excitations as seen in repeated responses: (Fig. 1.) Such records

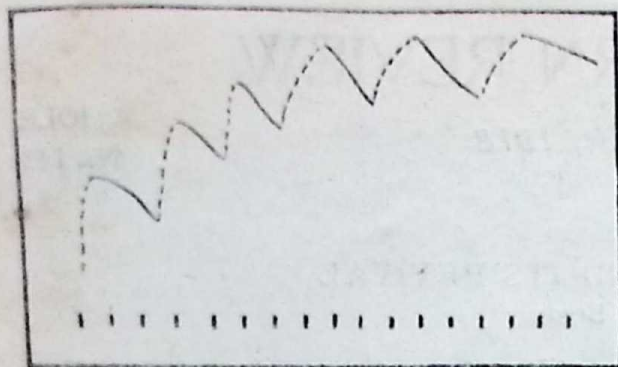


Fig. 1.—Multiple response in *Averrhoa* under a single strong electrical stimulus.

Vertical marks below indicate time interval of 1 minute (in this and in the following record).

I have not only obtained by the mechanical but also by the electrical mode of response. Moreover these echoing or multiple after-effects of strong stimulus occur in an interesting form in multiple visual sensation when the retina has been excited by intense light. The recurrent after-image is very distinct at the beginning, but becomes fainter after many repetitions. A time comes when it is difficult to tell whether the image is a real after-sensation or merely an effect of "memory". There is, in fact, no hard and fast line between the two—one merges simply into the other. Often the recurrent memory image seems to disappear on account of weariness and the distractions of the day; but it may reappear in all its vividness as soon as night and solitude have brought the necessary freedom from disturbance. Since an intense excitation is liable to recur spontaneously, without the action of the will or even in spite of it, it follows that any single impression, when very intense, may become dominant and persist in automatic recurrence. Examples of this are only too familiar.

MEMORY REVIVAL.

A more interesting form of memory is the revival of an impression the after-effect of which has faded out. Here we find that when no tangible effect of the impression remains it may still be recalled by an effort or impulse of the will.

It is clear that such a revival of impression can only take place by bringing about the original condition of excitation; in

other words repeating the effect of the original stimulus in its complete absence.

As a concrete example we may take the visual impression of a bright cross against a dark background. Under primary stimulus it is clear that we have in the sensory field two areas under differential excitation: The one—the excited area—in the form of a cross; the other, outside this, remaining unexcited. The image of the cross is therefore due to the differential excitation of a definite region in the sensory field. It is therefore obvious that in order to revive the picture we have to reproduce, in the absence of primary stimulus, the same state of differential excitation as was originally induced.

Evidently a pattern has been impressed on some sensitive area which remains latent. The tablet can never again be rendered quite clean. The tissue, which was originally *isotropic*, must have been rendered *anisotropic*, by the differential action of stimulus imprinting the latent image.

I shall now proceed to show that such anisotropy is actually induced by the latent impression left by stimulus. Next I shall demonstrate different methods by which we can detect the areas of differential excitability, and finally I shall show how the latent memory image can be brought into excitatory prominence.

AFTER-EFFECT OF STIMULUS ON EXCITABILITY AND CONDUCTIVITY.

Working with different plant tissues I find that the excitability of a tissue is enhanced by moderate stimulation; enhanced excitability thus being the effect of moderate stimulation, a tissue which has previously been excited, is rendered more susceptible than one which has never been excited. In a *Mimosa* which has been kept free from stimulation, a series of sub-minimal stimuli were applied at regular intervals. The first stimulus produced no excitation, the second gave rise to a very feeble response; as an after-effect of these stimulations, however, the excitability of the tissue was enhanced and the subsequent responses became large.

Similarly, the conducting power of the plant-nerve is enhanced by previous stimulation. A specimen of *Mimosa*, which has been kept screened from external stimulation, has little development of conducting power, but by application of successive

stimuli, the tissue which was formerly ineffective now begins to conduct excitation, and becomes increasingly effective under successive stimuli. This may be called the educative influence of stimulation.

It is thus clear that the area which has once been locally excited is rendered relatively more excitable than the neighbouring unexcited area. But such differences we cannot discover by even the closest scrutiny; they are latent.

Let us next see how we can discriminate these areas of latent impression—that is to say, of differential excitability. It is evident that the area of greater excitability will exhibit greater excitation under stimulation, and we have seen that greater excitation may be manifested in different ways, depending on the different organs of expression. Greater excitation may thus be evidenced first by greater contraction, secondly by more intense electrical token of excitation of galvanometric negativity, or thirdly by greater intensity of sensation.

DYNAMIC MANIFESTATION OF DIFFERENTIAL EXCITABILITY.

As an example of the first let us take the pulvinus of *Mimosa*, the upper halves of which through the action of light and other stimuli of the environment have become anisotropic or differentially excitable. If we had not been previously aware of the peculiar characteristics of the pulvinus, its quiescent condition would have given us no clue to its latent excitabilities. But differences which were latent could be brought into dynamic prominence by the action of a testing blow. Let us apply a diffuse stimulus which will act directly on both halves of the pulvinus. The direction of the resulting excitatory movement will now depend on the greater contraction of the more excitable half. The spasmodic down-movement of the leaf thus demonstrates the greater degree of latent excitability of the lower half. Thus a diffuse stimulus reveals the internal condition by causing a definite movement. In the case mentioned the diffuse stimulus was applied externally on the motile organ. But a shock from within, or external stimulus, will both bring about equally the same result. The stimulus instead of being applied on the pulvinus, may be applied on a distant point of the stem. The excitation will be transmitted as an

internal nervous impulse, and this blow from within will reveal the greater excitability of the lower half of the pulvinus, by the resulting fall of the leaf.

ELECTRIC DISCRIMINATION OF LATENT IMPRESSION.

In the absence of any motile indication, as for example when the leaf is physically restrained from movement, the latent differential excitability may still be made to exhibit itself by means of electrical response. Suitable electrical connections are made between the upper and lower halves of the pulvinus and an included galvanometer. The galvanometer needle will be found to remain quiescent under the normal condition of rest. But if an excitation be caused at some distant point on the stem, the internal excitatory impulse will act diffusely on both halves of the organ. The latent differential excitability will now be made manifest by the sudden occurrence of an electrical current, which flows through the pulvinus from the more excited lower to the more excited upper half. This takes place, even when, as stated before, the motile response of the leaf is physically restrained, and in organs which are not conspicuously motile at all. In other words, the part of the organ which is possessed of greater latent excitability will, under the test of diffuse stimulus, become galvanometrically negative. If this particular variation of electrical condition were visible, the more excited lower half of the organ would be seen to glow with light. From these demonstrations we see that latent impalpable differences of excitability may be awakened into greater prominence by the shock of diffused stimulus, whether internal or external, the sign of this greater excitability being either greater contraction or greater galvanometric negativity.

EXCITATION OF ANISOTROPIC STRUCTURE AND ELECTRIC DISCHARGE.

The electrical organ of certain fishes, again, consist of a number of plates, each being unequally excitable on its two sides. In the *Torpedo* for example the anterior or nervous surface is more excitable than the posterior or non-nervous. There are numerous such plates, in series, and all these remain quiescent in a state of inactivity. But under sudden internal stimulation, induced at the will of the ani-

mal, the differential excitability hitherto latent is manifested electrically, the more excitable face of each plate becoming galvanometrically negative. The pile-like arrangement of these discs causes their individual variations to act additively and thus determine the intensity of the electrical discharge.

EXPERIMENTAL REVIVAL OF LATENT IMAGE.

I may now describe an experiment which I have devised, exemplifying the process of the rise of a latent impression into vividness under the action of diffuse stimulus. We may take a metallic surface, a *lent*, in which different areas are impressed with latent variations of excitability, in consequence of the previous action on them of stimulating or depressing agents. A A' A'' is the indifferent background represented as grey. Another portion B has its excitability exalted as an after-effect of some stimulating agent. This is represented as white. In still a third portion C, the excitability has been depressed, this being represented as black. This latent impress of unequal excitability has for purposes of convenience been described by means of a scheme of light and shade. But in reality there is no outward sign of difference. An electric contact with a galvanometer is kept permanently made to the indifferent surface A''. The exploring contact is now moved along the plate and while it rests on any point, the plate is excited as a whole by vibration. The galvanometer under this arrangement will detect differential excitability. As long as the exploring wire moves over indifferent areas there is no effect detected in the galvanometer. But as soon as the exploring point rests

on the area B, the latent enhancement of excitability there shows itself by a sudden responsive up-movement of the galvanometer. When the explorer again passes over B and reaches the indifferent area A, response disappears. But when it reaches C with its depressed excitability, there is another responsive movement, this time in a reversed, or down direction. It is thus seen that the impress made by the action of stimulus, though it remains latent and invisible, can be revived by the impact of a fresh excitatory impulse. (Fig. 2).

DEATH-STRUGGLE AND MEMORY-REVIVAL.

To return to the case of revival of latent impressions, we have seen that the localised effect of a stimulus is to render the affected tissue more excitable, or a better conductor of excitation. Thus the pattern of excitation impressed by the primary stimulus remains as latent areas of greater excitability, and a diffused stimulus of the effort of the will wakes up into sensory prominence the dormant memory and vivifies once more the impression that had faded.

Before concluding I may perhaps refer to a widespread belief that in the case of

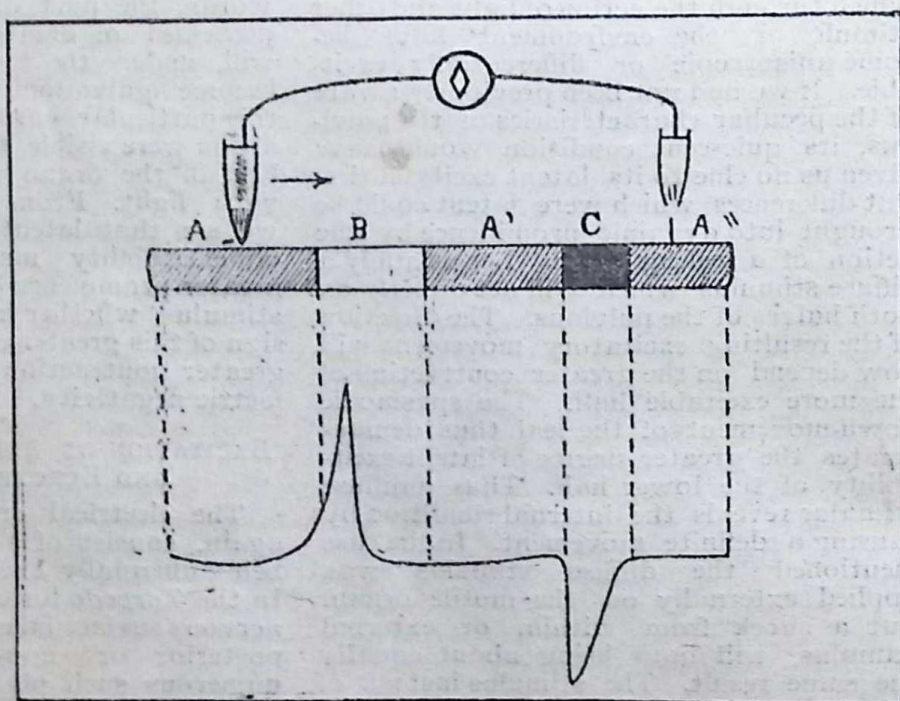


Fig. 2.—Revival of latent image.

a sudden death-struggle, as for example, when drowning, the memory of the past comes in a flash. This may not be altogether a superstition. I have been told by an acquaintance of mine who was revived from drowning, that he had this experience. Assuming the correctness of this, certain experimental results which I have obtained may be pertinent to the subject. The experiment consisted in find-

ing whether the plant, near the point of death, gave any signal of the approaching crisis. I found that at this critical moment a sudden electrical spasm sweeps through every part of the organism. Such a strong and diffused stimulation—now involuntary—may be expected in a human subject to crowd into one brief flash a panoramic succession of all the memory images latent in the organism.

AT HOME AND OUTSIDE

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

CHAPTER XI.

BIMALA'S STORY.

18.

WITH Amulya's departure my heart sank within me. On what perilous adventure had I sent this only son of his mother. O God, why need my expiation have such pomp and circumstance? Could I not be allowed to suffer alone without inviting all this multitude to share my punishment? Oh let not this innocent child fall victim to Your wrath.

I called him back—"Amulya!" My voice sounded so feebly, it failed to reach him. I went up to the door and called again: "Amulya!" He had gone.

"Who is there?"

"Rani Mother!"

"Go and tell Amulya Babu that I want him."

What exactly happened I could not make out,—the man, perhaps, was not familiar with Amulya's name,—but he returned almost at once followed by Sandip.

"The very moment you sent me away," he said as he came in, "I had a presentiment that you would call me back. The attraction of the same moon causes both ebb and flow. I was so sure of being sent for, that I was actually waiting out in the passage. As soon as I caught sight of your man, coming from your room, I said: 'Yes, yes, I am coming, I am coming at once!' before he could utter a word. That up-country lout was surprised, I can tell you! He stared at me, open-mouthed, as if he thought I knew magic.

"All the fights in the world, Queen Bee," Sandip rambled on, "are really fights between magical forces. Spell cast against spell,—noiseless weapons which reach even invisible targets. At last I have met in you my match. Your quiver is full, I know, you artful warrior Queen! You are the only one in the world who has been able to turn Sandip out and call Sandip back, at your sweet will. Well, your quarry is at your feet. What will you do with him now? Shall you give him the *coup de grace*, or would you keep him in your cage? Let me warn you beforehand, Queen, you will find the beast as difficult to kill outright as to keep in bondage. Anyway, why lose time in trying your magic weapons?"

Sandip must have felt the shadow of approaching defeat, which made him try to gain time by chattering away without waiting for a reply. I believe he knew that I had sent the messenger for Amulya, whose name the man must have mentioned. In spite of that he had deliberately played this trick. He was now trying to avoid giving me any opening to tell him that it was Amulya I wanted, not him. But his stratagem was futile, for I could see his weakness through it. I must not yield up a pin's point of the ground I had gained.

"Sandip Babu," I said, "I wonder how you can go on making these endless speeches, without a stop. Do you get them up by heart, beforehand?"

Sandip's face flushed instantly.

"I have heard," I continued, "that our professional reciters keep a book full of all kinds of ready-made discourses, which can

be fitted into any subject, as wanted. Have you also a book?"

Sandip ground out his reply through his teeth. "God has given you women a plentiful supply of coquetry to start with, and on the top of that you have the tailor and the jeweller to help you; but do not think we men are so helpless . . ."

"You had better go back and look up your book, Sandip Babu. You are getting your words all wrong. That's just the trouble with trying to repeat things by rote."

"You," shouted Sandip, losing all control over himself. "You to insult me thus? What is there left of you that I do not know to the very bottom. What . . ." He became speechless.

Sandip, the wielder of magic spells, is reduced to utter powerlessness, whenever his spell refuses to work. From a king he fell to the level of a boor. Oh, the joy of witnessing his weakness! The harsher he became in his rudeness, the more did this joy well up within me. His snaky coils, with which he used to snare me, are exhausted,—I am free. I am saved, saved. Be rude to me, insult me, for that shows you in your truth; but spare me your songs of praise, which were false.

At this point my husband came in. This time Sandip had not the elasticity to recover himself in a moment, as he used to do before. My husband looked at him for a while in surprise. Had this happened some days ago I should have felt ashamed. But to-day I was pleased,—let my husband think what he may. I wanted to have it out to the finish with my weakening adversary.

Finding us both silent and strained, my husband hesitated a little and then took a chair. "Sandip," he said, "I have been looking about for you, and was told you were here."

"I am here," said Sandip with some emphasis. "Queen Bee sent for me early this morning. And I, the humble worker of the hive, left all else to attend her summons."

"I am going to Calcutta to-morrow. You will come with me."

"And why, pray? Do you take me for one of your retinue?"

"Oh, very well, take it that you are going to Calcutta, and that I am your follower."

"I have no business there."

"All the more reason for going. You have too much business here."

"I don't propose to stir."

"Then I propose to shift you."

"Forcibly?"

"Forcibly."

"Very well, then, I will make a move. But the world is not divided between Calcutta and your estates. There are other places on the map."

"From the way you have been going on, one should hardly have thought that there was any other place in the world except my estates."

Sandip stood up. "It does happen at times," he said, "that a man's whole world is reduced to a single spot. I have realised my universe in this sitting room of yours, that is why I have been a fixture here."

"None but you, Queen Bee, will understand my words,—perhaps not even you. I salute you. With worship in my heart I leave you. My watchword has changed since you have come across my vision. It is no longer *Bande Mataram* (Hail Mother), but Hail Beloved, Hail Enchantress. The mother protects, the mistress leads to destruction,—but sweet is that destruction. You have made the anklet-sounds of the dance of death tinkle in my heart. You have changed for me, your devotee, the picture I had of this Bengal of ours,—'the soft breeze-cooled land of pure water and sweet fruit.'* You have no pity, my beloved, who have come to me with your poison cup. I shall drain it, and then either die in agony, or live triumphing over death.

"The mother's day is past. O love, my love, you have made as naught for me the Right, the Truth, and heaven itself. All duties have become as shadows: all rules and restraints have snapped their bonds. O love, my love, I feel I could set fire to all the world outside this land on which you have set your dainty feet, and I could dance in mad revel over the ashes. These are mild men. These are good men. They would do good to all,—as if 'the all' were real! Never! There is no reality in the world save this one real love of mine. I do you reverence. My devotion to you has made me cruel; my worship of you

* Quotation from the National Song,—*Bande Mataram*.

has lighted the raging flame of destruction within me. I am not righteous. I have no beliefs. I only believe in her whom, above all else in the world, I have been able to realise."

Wonderful! It was really wonderful. Only a minute ago I had despised this man with all my heart. But what I had thought to be mere ashes now glowed with living fire. That the fire in him is true is beyond doubt. Oh why has God made man such a mixed creature,—was it only to show His supernatural sleight of hand? Only a few minutes ago I had thought that Sandip, whom I had once taken to be a hero, was only the hero of melodrama. But that is not so, not so. Even behind the trappings of the stage, a true hero may sometimes be lurking.

There is much in Sandip that is coarse, that is sensuous, that is false, that is overlaid with layer after layer of fleshly covering. Yet,—yet it is best to confess that there is a great deal in him which we do not, can not, understand to its innermost depth,—much in ourselves, too. A wonderful thing is man. What great mysterious purpose he is working out only the Terrible One knows,—meanwhile we groan beneath the brunt of it. Shiva is the Lord of Chaos. He is all Joy. He will destroy our bonds.

I cannot but feel, again and again, that there are two persons in me. One recoils from Sandip in his terrible aspect of Chaos—the other feels that very vision to be sweetly alluring. The sinking ship drags down all who are swimming round it. Sandip is just such a force of destruction,—his immense attraction gets hold of one before fear can come to the rescue,—and then, in the twinkling of an eye, one is drawn away, irresistibly, from all light, all good, all freedom of the sky, all air that can be breathed,—from lifelong accumulations, from everyday cares—right to the bottom of dissolution.

From some realm of calamity has Sandip come as its messenger; and as he stalks the land muttering unholy incantations, to him flock all the boys and youths. The mother, seated in the lotus-heart of the Country is wailing her heart out; for they have broken open her store room, there to hold their drunken revelry. Her hoard of nectar they would pour out on the dust; her time-honoured vessels they would smash into bits. True, I feel with

her; but, at the same time, I cannot help being infected with their excitement.

Truth itself has sent us this temptation to test our trustiness in upholding its commandments. Intoxication masquerades in heavenly garb, and dances before the pilgrims saying: 'Fools you are that pursue the fruitless path of renunciation. Its way is long, its time passing slow. So has the Wielder of the Thunderbolt sent me to you. Behold, I the beautiful, the passionate, I will accept you,—in my embrace you will find fulfilment.'

After a pause Sandip addressed me again: "Goddess, the time has come for me to leave you. It is well. The work of your nearness has been done. By lingering longer it would only become undone again, little by little. All is lost, if in our greed we try to cheapen that which is the greatest thing on earth. That which is infinite within the moment, only gets to be circumscribed if spread out in time. We were about to spoil our infinite moment, when it was *your* uplifted thunderbolt which came to the rescue. You intervened to save the purity of your own worship,—and in so doing you also saved your worshipper. In my leave-taking today your worship stands out the biggest thing.

"Goddess, I, also, set you free to-day. My earthen temple could hold you no longer,—every moment it was on the point of breaking apart. Today I depart to worship your larger image in a larger temple. I can gain you more truly only at a distance from yourself. Here I had only your favour, there I shall be vouchsafed your boon."

My jewel casket was lying on the table. I held it up aloft as I said: "I charge you to convey these my jewels to the object of my worship,—to whom I have dedicated them through you."

My husband remained silent. Sandip left the room.

19.

I had just sat down to make some cakes for Amulya when the Senior Rani came upon the scene. "Oh dear, Junior Rani, has it come to this that you must make cakes for your own birthday?" she exclaimed.

"Is there no one else for whom I could be making them?" I asked.

"But this is not the day when you should think of feasting others. It is for us to

feast you. I was just thinking of making something up, when I heard the staggering news which completely upset me. A gang of five or six hundred men, they say, raided one of our treasuries and made off with six thousand rupees. Our house will be looted next, they expect."

I felt greatly relieved. So it was our own money after all. I wanted to send for Amulya at once and tell him that he need only hand over those notes to my husband and leave the explanations to me.

"You are a wonderful creature!" my sister-in-law broke out, at the change in my countenance. "Have you then really no such thing as fear?"

"I cannot believe it," I said. "Why should they loot our house?"

"Not believe it, indeed! Who could have believed that they would attack our treasury, either?"

I made no reply but bent over my cakes, putting in the cocoanut stuffing.

"Well I'm off", said the Senior Rani after a prolonged stare at me. "I must see brother Nikhil and get something done about sending off my money to Calcutta, before it's too late."

She was no sooner gone than I left the cakes to take care of themselves and rushed off to my dressing room, shutting myself inside. My husband's tunic with the keys in its pocket, was still hanging there,—so forgetful was he. I took the key of the iron safe off the ring and kept it by me, hidden in the folds of my dress.

Then there came a knocking at the door. "I am dressing," I called out. I could hear the Senior Rani saying: "Only a minute ago I saw her making cakes and now she is busy dressing up. What next, I wonder! One of their *Bande Mataram* meetings is on, I suppose. I say, Robber Queen," she called out to me. "Are you taking stock of your loot?"

When they went away I hardly know what made me open the safe. Perhaps there was a lurking hope that it might all be a dream. What, if on pulling out the inside drawer, I should find the rolls of gold there, just as before? Alas, everything was as empty as the trust which had been betrayed.

I had to go through the farce of dressing. I had to do my hair up all over again, quite unnecessarily. When I came out my sister-in-law railed at me: "How many times are you going to dress to-day."

"My birthday!" I said.

"Oh, any pretext seems good enough," she went on. "Many vain people have I seen in my day, but you beat them all hollow."

I was about to summon a servant to send after Amulya, when one of the men came up with a little note, which he handed to me. It was from Amulya. "Sister" he wrote "You invited me this afternoon, but I thought I should not wait. Let me first execute your bidding and then come for my *prasad*. I may be a little late."

To whom could he be going to return that money; into what fresh entanglement was the poor boy rushing? O miserable woman, you can only send him off like an arrow, but not recall him if you miss your aim.

I should have declared at once that I was at the bottom of this robbery. But women live on the trust of their surroundings,—that is their whole world. If once it is out that that trust has been secretly betrayed, their place in their world is lost. They have then to stand upon the fragments of the thing they have broken, and its jagged edges keep on wounding at every turn. To sin is easy enough, but to make up for it is above all difficult for a woman.

It is some time since all easy approaches for communion with my husband have been closed to me. How then could I burst on him with this stupendous news? He was very late in coming for his meal today,—nearly two o'clock. He was absent-minded and hardly touched any food. I had lost even the right to press him to take a little more. I had to avert my face to wipe away my tears.

I wanted so badly to say to him: "Do come into our room and rest awhile, you look so tired." I had just cleared my throat with a little cough, when a servant hurried in to say that the Police Inspector had brought Panchu up to the palace. My husband, with the shadow on his face deepened, left his meal unfinished and went out.

A little later the Senior Rani appeared. "Why did you not send me word when Brother Nikhil came in," she complained. "As he was late I thought I might as well finish my bath in the meantime. However did he manage to finish with his meal so soon?"

"Why, did you want him for anything?"

"What is this about both of you going off to Calcutta tomorrow? All I can say is, I am not going to be left here, alone. I should get startled out of my life at every sound, with all these dacoits about. Is it quite settled about your going tomorrow?"

"Yes," said I, though I only just now heard it; and though, moreover, I was not at all sure that before tomorrow our history would not take such a turn as to make it all one whether we went or stayed. After that, what our home, our life would be like, was utterly beyond my ken,—it seemed so misty, dream-like!

In a very few hours, now, my unseen fate would become visible. Was there no one who could, keep on postponing the flight of these hours, from day to day, and so make them long enough for me to set things right, so far as in me lay? The time during which the seed lies underground is long—so long indeed that one forgets that there is any danger of its sprouting. But once its shoot shows up above the surface, it grows and grows so fast, there is no time to cover it up, neither with skirt, nor body, nor even life itself.

I will try to think of it no more, but sit quiet, passive and callous,—let the crash come when it may. By the day after tomorrow all will be over, anyhow,—publicity, laughter, bewailing, questions, explanations,—everything.

But I cannot forget the face of Amulya,—beautiful, radiant, with devotion. *He* did not wait, despairing, for the blow of fate to fall, but rushed into the thick of danger. Wretched woman that I am, I do him reverence. He is my boy-god. Under the pretext of his playfulness he took from me the weight of my burden. He would save me by taking the punishment meant for me on his own head. But how am I to bear this terrible mercy of my God?

Oh my child, my child, I do you reverence. Little brother mine, I do you reverence. Pure are you, beautiful are you, I do you reverence. May you come to my arms, in the next birth, as my own child,—that is my prayer.

20.

Rumour became busy on every side. The police were continually in and out. The servants of the house were in a great flurry.

Khema, my maid, came up to me

and said: "Oh, Rani Mother! for goodness sake put away my gold necklet and armlets in your iron safe." To whom was I to explain that the Rani herself had been weaving all this network of trouble, and had got caught in it, too! I had to play the benign protector and take charge of Khema's ornaments and Thako's savings. The milk-woman, in her turn, brought along and kept in my room a box in which were a Benares *sari* and some other of her valued possessions. "I got these at your wedding," she told me.

When, tomorrow, my iron safe will be opened in the presence of these—Khema, Thako, the milkwoman and all the rest—stop, let me not think of it! Let me rather try to think what it will be like when this 3rd day of *Magh* comes round again after a year has passed. Will all the wounds of my home life then be still as fresh as ever? . . .

Amulya writes that he will come later in the evening. I cannot remain alone with my thoughts, doing nothing. So I sit down again to make cakes for him. I have finished making quite a quantity, but still I must go on. Who will eat them? I shall distribute them amongst the servants. I must do so this very night. To-night is my limit. To-morrow will not be in my hands.

I went on untiringly, frying cake after cake. Every now and then it seemed to me that there was some noise in the direction of my rooms, upstairs. Could it be that my husband had missed the key of the safe, and the Senior Rani had assembled all the servants to help him to hunt for it? No, I must not pay heed to these sounds. Let me shut the door.

I rose to do so, when Thako came panting in: "Rani Mother, O Rani Mother!"

"Oh get away!" I snapped out, cutting her short. "Don't come bothering me."

"The Senior Rani mother wants you," she went on. "Her nephew has brought such a wonderful machine from Calcutta. It talks like a man. Do come and hear it!"

I did not know whether to laugh or to cry. So of all things a gramophone needs must come on the scene at such a time, repeating at every winding the nasal twang of its theatrical songs! What a fearsome thing results when a machine apes a man.

The shades of evening began to fall.

I knew that Amulya would not delay to announce himself—yet I could not wait. I summoned a servant and said: "Go and tell Amulya Babu to come straight in here." The man came back after a while to say that Amulya was not in,—he had not come back since he had gone.

"Gone!" The last word struck my ears like a wail in the gathering darkness. Amulya gone! Had he then come like a streak of light from the setting sun, only to be gone for ever? All kinds of possible and impossible dangers flitted through my mind. It was I who had sent him to his death. What if he was fearless, that only showed *his* greatness of heart. But after this how was *I* to go on living?

I had no memento of Amulya save that pistol,—his reverence offering. It seemed to me that this was a sign given by Providence. This guilt which had contaminated my life at its very root,—my God in the form of a child had left with me the means of wiping it away, and then vanished. Oh the loving gift—the saving grace that lay hidden within it!

I opened my box and took out the pistol, lifting it reverently to my forehead. At that moment the gongs clanged out from the temple attached to our house. I prostrated myself in salutation.

In the evening I feasted the whole household with my cakes. "You have managed a wonderful birthday feast,—and all by yourself too!"—exclaimed my sister-in-law. "But you must leave something for us to do." With this she turned on her gramophone and let loose the shrill treble of the Calcutta actresses all over the place. It seemed like a stable full of neighing fillies.

It got quite late before the feasting was over. I had a sudden longing to end my birthday celebration by taking the dust of my husband's feet. I went up to the bed room and found him fast asleep. He had had such a worrying, trying day. I raised the edge of the mosquito curtain very very gently, and laid my head near his feet. My hair must have touched him, for he moved his legs in his sleep and pushed my head away.

I then went out and sat in the west verandah. A silk-cotton tree, which had shed all its leaves, stood there in the distance, like a skeleton. Behind it the crescent moon was setting. All of a sudden I had the feeling that the very stars in

the sky were afraid of me,—that the whole of the night world was looking askance at me. Why? Because I was alone.

There is nothing so odd in creation as the man who is alone. Even he whose near ones have all died, one by one, is not alone,—companionship comes for him from behind the screen of death. But he, whose kin are there, yet no longer near, who has dropped out of all the varied companionship of a full home,—the starry universe itself seems to bristle to look on him in his darkness.

Where I am, I am not. I am far away from those who are around me. I live and move upon a world-wide chasm of separation, unstable as the dew-drop upon the lotus leaf.

Why do not men change wholly when they change? When I look into my heart, I find everything that was there, still there,—only they are topsy-turvy. Things that were well-ordered have become jumbled up. The gems that were strung into a garland are now rolling in the dust. And so my heart is breaking.

I feel I want to die. Yet in my heart everything still lives,—nor even in death can I see the end of it all: rather, in death there seems to be ever so much more of repining. What is to be ended must be ended in this life,—there is no other way out.

Oh forgive me just once, only this time, Lord! All that you gave into my hands as the wealth of my life, I have made into my burden. I can neither bear it longer, nor give it up. O Lord, sound once again those flute strains which you played for me, long ago, standing at the rosy edge of my morning sky,—and let all my complexities become easy. Nothing save the music of your flute can make whole that which has been broken, make pure that which has been sullied. Create my home anew with the sound of your flute. No other way can I see.

I threw myself prone on the ground and sobbed aloud. It was mercy that I beseeched,—some little mercy from somewhere, some shelter, some sign of forgiveness, some hope that might bring about the end. "Lord," I vowed to myself, "I shall lie here, waiting and waiting, touching neither food nor drink, so long as your blessing does not reach me."

I heard the sound of footsteps. Who says that the gods do not show them-

selves to mortal men? I did not raise my face to look up, lest the sight of it should break the spell. Come, oh come, come and let your feet touch my head. Come, Lord, and stand upon my throbbing heart, and at that moment let me die.

He came and sat near my head. Who? My husband! The seat of the god, who could not bear to witness my grief, moved under the weight of his presence. I felt that I should swoon. And then the pain at my heart burst its way out in an overwhelming flood of tears, tearing through all my obstructing veins and nerves. I strained his feet to my bosom,—oh why could not their impress remain there for ever?

He tenderly stroked my head. I received his blessing. Now I shall be able to take up the penalty of public humiliation which shall be mine tomorrow, and

offer it in all sincerity, at the feet of my God.

But what keeps crushing my heart is the thought that the festive pipes which played at my wedding, nine years ago, will never play for me again in this life,—the pipes which had first welcomed me into this house. Oh, what rigour of penance is there which can serve to bring me once more, red-robed and sandal-paste-anointed, to my place upon that same bridal seat? How many years, how many ages, aeons, must pass before I can find my way back to that day of nine years ago?

God can create new things, but has even He the power to create afresh that which has been destroyed?

(To be concluded)

Translated by
SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

(THE LAST REPUBLIC OF THE HINDUS

BY KUNWAR SHIV NATH SINGH SENGAR, BIKANER.

MANY proofs have come to light of the existence, in the distant past, of the republican form of Government in India, and the fact is now so well established that it is not in the least necessary to enumerate them here. There were many republics in India about the beginning of the Buddhistic period—particularly in several of those tribal areas which surrounded the birth-place of that great man—Siddhartha Gautama, the Buddha (the Enlightened One). But to most of the readers of this article it will come as an agreeable discovery to learn that a republic existed in India till less than 150 years ago. This, however, has really been the case. It was the little republic of Lakhnesar and was founded in the thirteenth century of the Christian era by a heroic little band of Sengar Rajputs who had fled from the irresistible onslaught of the Mahomedans. It lasted for about 500 years. This land now forms a pargana of the Ballia district of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, but the bulk of it—83 per cent. according to the 1907 Gazetteer of the district—is still owned and held by the Sengars in the *bhaiyachara* (literally brotherhood) form of tenure.

Let us here reproduce a few lines from the Gazetteer of the district.

"Amongst the earliest Rajput immigrants were the Sengars." (P. 140) "Their history is remarkable, for at all times they were renowned for their strength and courage, but on no occasion do they seem to have had a common Raja, the republican nature of their institution being illustrated by the fact that the 537 *mahals* into which the pargana (Lakhnesar) is now divided are all held in *bhaiyachara* tenure. Nevertheless their union was so complete that the Sengars were the only clan who preserved their proprietary rights intact." (P. 228) "The democratic spirit was not so strong in the case of the clans in other parganas." (P. 87).

Before proceeding further we shall show how and why our republics differed in one important respect from those of other countries.

The caste system of us Hindus is older than the age of the great Buddha. It only meant the classification of the population of the country into four interdependent divisions (*varnas*) according to 'qualities and actions.'

Each division was an undetachable component part of one compact and entire whole with its duties clearly defined for the common good of the nation. The governance and protection of the country fell to the Kshattriya. In their own sphere of life they were the permanent representa-

tives of the remaining three *varnas* as they (the other) *varnas* were in theirs.

Separate clans of Kshattriyas formed separate governments in their respective spheres of influence which, needless to say, changed with the times. In doing so the clansmen either elected one of themselves as their king or carried on the government conjointly in the name of the brotherhood. These latter were our republics. The same was doubtless the model of the tribal republics of 2500 years ago that we read of in Buddhistic literature. Such clan republics were a recognised form of government also in the time of the Maurya king Chandragupta (322-298 B.C.), whose minister Chanakya *alias* Kautilya or Vishungupta, in his now famous "Arthashastra" says, कुबज वा भविद्राजम्, that is to say, "Sovereignty may be the property of a clan." It is a mistake to call them oligarchies or give them any other name, for the simple reason given above, viz., the Kshattriyas were the representatives of the nation as a whole charged with the governance of the country.

At the time of the fall of the kingdom of Kanauj at the hand of Shihabuddin Muhammad Ghori in 1194 the Sengar Rajputs ruled over that part of the country on either bank of the Jumna which now forms the bulk of the Jalaun and Etawah districts of the Agra Province and is locally known after them by the name of Singarat (Sringa-Rashtra) or Singar-Ghar. It had by then been their stronghold for about 150 years. The town of Karnāvati (Kanar) situate on the south bank of the Jumna river near where Jagamanpur, the capital of Raja Lokendra Shah Bahadur, the present head and premier chief of the clan, now stands, was their metropolis and the mighty prince Vishoka Deva, who was the son-in-law of the great Raja Jayachandra Rathor (Gahadwal) of Kanauj, and had added much to his possessions either by conquest or by grants from Kanauj or by both, was their Raja. By reason of the relationship mentioned he paid no tribute to Kanauj, which was then the suzerain power of the Eastern Rajputs—the 'Prasii' or the 'Prachyas' of the historians of Alexander the Great and the 'Purabia' or 'Hindustani' Rajputs of present day writers.

The more the Mahomedan power

increased the less powerful did this kingdom of the Sengars become. The Mahomedans made several of its cadet branches (now represented by the Rajas of Bhareh, Ruru and Hardoi; the Diwan of Sarawan; the Raos of Kakhaotu, Bhikra and Riniyan; the Kawats of Kursi; and others) one by one independent of the House of Kanar which the Raja of Jagamanpur now represents and levied tribute from them.

Some liberty-loving Sengar Rajputs, mostly from Phapund, which was also one of the cadet chiefships, would not stand the humiliation, and, bidding adieu to their kith and kin as well as their own hearths and homes, set out in search of 'a place in the Sun' where they and their children could live like free men. Two elderly brothers, Hari Sah *alias* Sur Sah and Bir Sah, headed and led this little adventurous band of great souls.

'Where there is a will there is a way.' They travelled far to the east and in course of time reached the country between the Ghagra and the Ganges. Its rugged and secluded nature and its thick primeval forests at once appealed to the military instinct of the Rajputs. In this veritable fastness of nature they planted their colonies here and there and the land stood them in good stead throughout the Mahomedan period.

Sur Sah and his people were more fortunate than the rest of the party. They struck upon the decaying Bhar principality of Lakhnesar on the Sarju in the very heart of the forest, conquered it, and founded, in its stead, the little republic of Lakhnesar which is the subject of this article. Here one thing deserves special notice. The Gautama Kshatriyas, of whom the great Buddha was one, claim, down to the present day, to be a younger branch of the Sengar clan. The foundation of a republic by that great man's kinsfolk so near his birthplace and near where republics had also existed in the past is remarkable and may have had some special significance about it. It is possible that a yearning for the old home of their forefathers or an invitation from their Gautama brethren of the Gorakhpur country on the other side of the Ghaghra was also at the back of the adventurous undertaking which was so successful.

At any rate Lakhnesar was not the first republic of the Sengars, who now

represent the 'Singhoh' mentioned by that Greek author and ambassador Megasthenes as being one of the peoples "which are free, have no kings and occupy mountain heights where they have built many cities." These 'Singhoh' cannot but have been the Sengars of Bandhu (Rewah) and Kalinjar, which, according to the traditions of the clan, were among its strongholds in the remote past.

The Sengars' code of government was very simple. They taxed the agricultural and the mercantile communities for the use of their land. Priests, village workmen and menials rendered service in lieu of lands held by them. The Sengars in return took upon themselves all responsibility for the government and defence of the country. Justice was cheap, instantaneous and easy to obtain and was in in most cases administered by village or caste panchayats, the Sengar elders only interfering in big or complicated cases.

Ordinarily all the routine work of government was attended to by elderly Sengars but in time of war each and every male member of the brotherhood capable of bearing arms deemed it his duty to render military service in the defence of the country. There was no age limit. None but Sengars were liable to a call to arms. They always kept themselves militarily prepared and every third year in the month of Baisakh (Vaisakha) all able-bodied Sengars, duly armed and accoutred, met in thousands for a general inspection by the elders of the clan of the combined armed strength of the brotherhood. The meeting place was generally the town of Rasra to which they had removed the capital and which has ever since been the headquarters of the clan in this part of the country. (*Vide* Imperial Gazetteer). While there, they indulged in diverse sorts of manly sports and soldierly performances. Spectators from the neighbouring tribal areas also flocked to Rasra in large numbers to witness this triennial military *Vrihat-Sammelana* of the Sengars and returned to their homes vividly impressed with the unity and strength of the clan.

When they went to Rasra for the *Sammelana* they had not to report themselves at the door of any particular person there, because they were all brothers and therefore all equal, but encamped themselves round the shrine of Nath Baba,

a deified hero of the Sengar clan whose original name was Amar Singh and who is still worshipped by them.

In spite of having on more than one occasion had to pay tribute to its contemporary Mahomedan kings, the Republic enjoyed complete internal independence throughout the Musalman period, with the end of which the days of its misfortune began. But, as we shall see, the Sengars were a hard nut to crack and only yielded after they had shed and drawn much blood, and, sacrificed and taken many lives, in which their heroines also participated.

In Akbar's time Lakhnesar paid a light annual tribute of about Rs. 3,165, but unlike other tribal areas of the country furnished no military contingent;—*vide* Ain-i-Akbari.

"The administrative arrangements of Akbar's time appear to have remained unchanged till 1722, and for the intervening period the history of the district is a complete blank.....As in former times the Rajputs of this district appear to have been left to themselves" (Gazetteer of Ballia District, 1907).

In 1722 Saadat Ali Khan became the governor of Oudh. He was the first Nawab Vazir of Oudh. He and his successors did much to destroy the power of the Rajputs of this part of the country, but with varying success. The latter were never completely subjugated and Muhammad Ali Khan, the last representative but one of the Oudh government, about 1754, had to be recalled because of his "inability to deal with the Rajput population."

From 1761 to 1781 Raja Balwant Singh of Benares held this part of the country as a feudatory, first of Oudh and then of the East India Company. He also adopted the policy of destroying the power of the Rajputs. On several occasions they offered resistance to Balwant Singh, but in only one case were their efforts successful. This exception to the general rule was provided by the Sengar republicans of Lakhnesar, who not only treated his demands with contempt but adopted an attitude of open hostility and attacked and pillaged his treasures.

"The Raja incensed at the spirit they displayed conducted a large force into the heart of their fastness," and attacked their capital Rasra. In vain did they ask him to reconsider his decision and save them the great sin of staining their hands with Brahman blood. He was determined and ordered attack after attack.

In spite of the inequality of the fight, the Sengars fought like lions and smashed all the attacks. They knew that their very existence as free men was at stake and were therefore very desperate. Their ladies also stood heroically by them and many of them burnt themselves alive with their fallen husbands. Hundreds of *sati* monuments sacred to the memory of these heroines surround the large tank near the shrine of Amar Nathji (Nath Baba) at Rasra down to the present day.

The bloody conflict lasted for full two days. It can easily be imagined what a tremendous loss of life that duration of a pitched battle against overwhelming odds in those days of hand to hand fight with cold steel meant. The Sengars, however, stood firm and when bravery failed Balwant Singh, he had recourse to treachery and had the cowardice to have the town set on fire so that many helpless and innocent lives were lost and the Sengars had to withdraw; but they wavered not in the least in their vow to fight to the last man, because it was, after all, an unconquerable will to remain free and not the walls that counted and fought.

"The issue of this famous fight was gratifying to the brave clan, and has been the subject of exultation among their descendants down to the present time. The Raja was obliged to agree to a compromise and permitted the Sengars to retain their estates on the payment of a small revenue. The fruit of their bravery is conspicuously seen now that the country is under the British, for the amount of land revenue annually paid by the Sengars, settled in accordance with the original arrangement made by them with the Raja Balwant Singh, is now only nine annas or thirteen pence half penny per acre, the lowest sum paid in the whole of the Benares province excepting the hill people in the Mirzapore district." (Sherring's "Hindu Castes and Tribes" 1872 Edn.)

The annual payment fixed was Rs. 20,501, and the Sengars were guaranteed the right "to manage it in their own fashion. They had their own revenue collector, and the distribution of the demand was effected by themselves without any interference on the part of the Government." (Gazetteer of Ballia Dt., 1907.) The amount then fixed has remained unchanged unto this day and works out to "a rate which does not now exceed eight annas per bigha of cultivation" (*Ibid.*)

The Sengars maintained the internal independence of Lakhnesar almost unimpaired down to the early years of British rule, which began in 1781 and "when Mr. Duncan (appointed Resident in 1787) as-

sumed control of Benares the Sengars were considered the most independent and troublesome of all the subjects of the Company." (*Ibid.*) Dr. Wilton Oldham in his statistical memoirs of the Ghazipur District puts it thus: "Before the establishment of the British authority the Sengars of Lakhnesar had managed to establish for themselves an unrivalled reputation for their courage, independence and insubordination. This reputation they preserved unimpaired during the first years of our administration."

In 1788 the British Government abolished certain market and other dues which the Sengars used to realize in their chief town Rasra and they were prepared "to resist the order by force till a compromise was suggested by the merchants * * * whereby the ground rents (which had not been interfered with by the Government and are still realized) were raised by one half." (Gazetteer of Ballia Dt., 1907.) That the merchants came to their rescue at such a critical juncture proves beyond doubt that the rule of the Sengars had been popular and that the inhabitants in general were, on the whole, sympathetic with and well-inclined to the brave clan under whose protection they had for centuries lived in peace and plenty and had known practically no outside interference with their internal affairs.

In 1793 Mr. Duncan made a tour of Lakhnesar. The Sengars were not much used to such tours and saw in it the thin end of the wedge. They, therefore, attacked his body-guard. He was, however, a master breaker of men to harness and knew how to deal with them. The offence was condoned and the fiscal arrangement entered into with Balwant Singh was permitted to continue, the entire pargana being settled with their Chaudhris or headmen "as the undivided estate of the whole clan." And undivided it had always been in spite of the governing clan numbering thousands, because it was founded as a State and not as an Estate.

Somehow or other, in 1796, Lakhnesar fell into arrears and in 1798 the Collector of Benares had to proceed against the Sengars with a military force. In 1801 the first detailed settlement of Lakhnesar was made at Rs. 40,738. The enhanced revenue was, however, never paid, with the result that the pargana was sold to the Raja of Benares. He made several attempts

to gain possession by means of "a semi-military force" and to accomplish what his famous grand-father had failed in, but with no better result. In 1802 the sale had to be cancelled and old Lakhnesar was once more restored to the Sengars. A settlement was carried out again and the original demand of Rs. 20,501 was maintained with the deduction of Rs. 1,653 on account of nankar and the salary of a separate revenue establishment.

In 1841 Lakhnesar's privilege of maintaining its own Tahsildar and Sarishtadar as distinct from the Government revenue establishment of the district was withdrawn, the duties being performed by the Government Tahsildar and Qanungo of Rasra.

In this way the Sengar Rajputs who had founded the little republic of Lakhnesar and administered and protected it for centuries became ordinary Zamindars. They still hold about 83 per cent. of the pargana of Lakhnesar.

Lakhnesar's struggle for existence was tragic and protracted.

The Sengars of Lakhnesar have nothing to be ashamed of in the way in which their brave ancestors acquitted themselves. They acted their part well, and, as Pope has said,

Honour and shame from no condition rise ;
Act well your part, there all the honour lies.

So all honour to those really great souls.

THE HOUSING QUESTION IN AN INDIAN CITY

THROUGHOUT India the drift to the city is a marked feature in our economic and social life though its extent and significance differ in the different provinces. This has brought about a change in the mentality of the population in our villages. Certain attitudes of mind have been developed in our villages unknown before, while in the cities the type of mentality that is now being developed is new, and this is tending to replace the old habits and traditions associated with our ancient civic life and institutions. In too many cases the process has been that of the substitution of cultures, not to speak of the social dislocation, and unsettlement, with its attendant evils of unrest, poverty and stress, associated with all transitional stages.

In schemes of economic reconstruction we ought not to satisfy ourselves merely with the task of rehabilitating the disintegrated agriculture of our villages. We have to cleanse and beautify our sordid cities; rebuild them and their institutions so that they may contribute to the healthy and noble living of the population instead of regarding them as 'inevitable' products of 'industrialism' and human nature.

At present the conditions of life of our factory-labourers are far from healthy and

natural. The Indian mill-hand is primarily a cultivator who returns to his home in his native village as soon as he has been able to lay by sufficient money after his own expenses and his regular remittances to his family who seldom accompanies him to his *chawl* or *busti* near the factory. The labourer in a jute mill in Bengal who usually comes from Saran Champaran, Balia or other districts in the United Provinces or Bihar goes back in the hot weather or harvest season. Local labourers are few comprising less than one-third of the hands. In the city of Howrah, which has a population of 179,006 and which doubled itself during the last 40 years, more than two-thirds of the inhabitants were born outside the district. The Bengali-speaking population comprised only 47 p.c. of the population while the Hindi and Oriya speaking people constituted 47 p.c. and 3. p.c. respectively. When the labourers come from distant countries they leave their families behind. Thus in Howrah there are only 562 females to 1,000 males. Between 1871-1911 the increase of females has been 75 p.c. while that of males has been as great as 150 p.c.

Some of the mill-towns have shown a phenomenal increase of population. Thus, in Bengal, in the last decade, Bhadreswar has increased twice, Tittagarh thrice and

Kharagpur 5 times in population. The dangers of over-crowding and insanitation have been very serious and the more so because the increase of population has been so sudden. Pukka or kuccha cooly lines have been built by the managers of the mills but they do not save the situation. When the hours of labour are 5 A.M. to 8 P.M., with changes at 7-30 A.M., 10 A.M., 12-30 P.M., 3 and 8 P.M., each shift working 10 hours a day, the labourers have to live close to a mill, and over-crowding cannot be prevented. There is also an enormous amount of contract labour, about the housing of which the employer does not trouble himself at all. A cooly contractor is paid so much a bale for bringing raw jute from a jetty to the mill, or manufactured jute from the mill to the jetty or the railway station. All these make it absolutely essential for labour to live close to the factory, and if there is no congestion in the mill-lines, there is congestion in the private *bustis*. It is these latter especially which are centres of poverty, prostitution, and disease. A Sarder gets some land from

tion or light. Filth is uncollected or dumped in the yards. The rents are sometimes as high as Re. 1-8 as. or Re. 2 per week for a dark-room and another small-half-room, and there is one privy for 60 persons with a rent of 1½ a. per week per head. In ward V. Howrah, the number of persons per acre is 90. Sankari-bazar, Dacca, which strikes us as one of the most congested quarters in a city in Bengal has a density of 61.6 which compares favourably with Howrah.

In Bombay town 76 p.c. of the population lives in one-room tenements. There are over 166,000 of these tenements and the average number of persons per room is 4.47. The labouring classes, almost without exception, live in tenements of a single room in large *chawls*, which sometimes provide a common washing place on each floor and sometimes a *nahani* or *mori* in each room. Persons living in five or six room tenements average 1.43 and 1.45 persons per room. The following table shows the number of tenements per inhabited house in some of the mill-areas in Bombay.

	Total number of occupied tenements of each class.	Percentage of each class of tenements to total tenements.	Total number of occupants.	Percentage borne by population in each class of tenements to total population.	Average number of occupants per room.
<i>Rycula</i>					
1 Room	15,998	99.25	70,970	94.24	4.44
2 Rooms	347	2.09	11,760	2.34	2.54
3 Rooms	118	.71	658	.87	1.86
4 Rooms	79	.48	872	1.16	2.44
5 Rooms	25	.15	232	.31	1.86
6 Rooms and over	55	.33	815	1.08	2.47
<i>Tadwadi.</i>					
1 Room	4,807	94.81	26,186	92.16	5.45
2 Rooms	129	2.54	673	2.37	2.61
3 Rooms	39	.77	275	.97	2.35
4 Rooms	35	.69	198	.70	1.41
5 Rooms	15	.30	129	.42	1.72
6 Rooms and over	45	.89	952	3.35	3.53
<i>In Mandvi, Circle No. 6.</i>					
1 Room	327	77.67	4,927	93.14	15.07
2 Rooms	61	14.49	198	3.47	1.62
3 Rooms	19	4.51	97	1.64	1.70
4 Rooms	7	1.66	25	.47	.89
5 Rooms	2	.47	13	.22	1.30
6 Rooms and over	5	1.19	30	.57	1.00

The greatest density is 638 per acre in second Nagpada, while in 1-15th of the total area of the Island are huddled together nearly 2-5th of the population at 391 per acre.

the mill rent-free to build huts on; he brings workers to live in the huts and collects their rents, and would sometimes charge exorbitant rates. The huts are very dark and gloomy, without ventila-

Life is squalid, dirty, unclean and unnatural when, for example, as many as 15 persons live in each room of the one-room tenements. No less than 76 per cent. of the population, i.e., no less than 7,43,250

souls reside in single-room tenements. Real homes in the shape of whole houses are very rare; even homes in flats are comparatively uncommon; for the great bulk of the people "home" means a single room. Hence the importance of recognising the room rather than the house as the unit when applying municipal by-laws which prescribe the amount of open space to be provided outside dwelling places.*

As regards drainage and ventilation the following remarks are quoted from the Secretary to the Bombay Development Committee of 1918 :—"It is not uncommon to find a continuous area of buildings each occupying practically the whole site on which it stands. Each building may be surrounded almost entirely by a dark narrow gully which, in the absence of any possibility of installing a proper drainage system, is an open drain containing the waste water used for domestic purposes, and defiled also with urine, with excreta overflowing from the privy baskets, and with all kinds of refuse thrown out of windows. Except for some small dirty chawks, these gullies may constitute the only access of light and air to the rooms in the buildings. Most of the rooms have obviously no proper supply of light and air, and many of them are dark hovels which no breath of fresh air ever reaches. Often such small windows as look out on the narrow passage cannot be opened at all because of the foulness of the gullies, and because of the fear that rubbish and filth thrown out of the windows will enter the rooms. But lack of light and air is by no means the only fault of such dwellings. There is also the very imperfect drainage which results from the crowded nature of the sites, and the dampness of soil due to this insufficient drainage, and other causes. Dwelling rooms are too small, and too low. Yards and compounds are not decently paved. Proper arrangements for disposal of refuse are absent."

Inadequate municipal regulations with regard to dwellings, town-planlessness, a laissez faire policy pursued with regard to the location of factories and working-men's quarters, as well as house-tax laws have all contributed to this overcrowding involving disease and discomfort, nervous

tension, vice, callousness and many more evils.

There is, in the same way, an enormous amount of overcrowding in the poorer quarters in Calcutta. Over the whole municipal area there is an average population of 2.5 persons per room, and this congestion is more or less over the whole of the city, the least congested ward being Park Street with 1.3 persons per room, and the most congested being Jorabagan with 4.4 persons per room.* The facts as to the absence of family life in Calcutta will soon be fully dealt with, and the investigation of the conditions prevailing makes it clear that the majority of the working-classes are housed in overcrowded bustees.

The city of New York presents us with one of the world's overcrowded conditions. But in Bombay the overcrowding beats the New York record hollow. We have not got any data relating to the number of families in Calcutta occupying rooms in the *busti*, and the sizes of those rooms, but we have sufficiently clear impressions to conclude that the congestion and overcrowding are not less. In New York more than one and a half persons to a room is held to be over-crowding, and about 45 per cent. of families live in an overcrowded condition. In Byculla and Tadwadi the average number of occupants in a single room is, 4.44 and 5.45 respectively, and in none of the tenements there is less than 1.5 persons living in one room. In Mandvi, as we have already seen, there are on an average 15.07 persons living in a single room. The unmitigated and incalculable evils of this fearful congestion are apparent.

Under such overcrowded conditions the spread of diseases is easy, and an outbreak of plague, cholera or small pox will drive away all those who can escape. Grog shops are many and they are situated quite near the lines to encourage drink, while brothels also spring up and satisfy the coarse appetites of operatives whose nerves are shattered by long hours of work and the de-humanised and de-socialised life under de-vitalised conditions and who therefore have frequent recourse to drink and debauchery for relaxation. Apart from these we have already pointed out

* J. P. Orr—Social Reform and Slum Reform, Part II. p. 17.

* Vide Maden and Shroshree's Report on City and Suburban Main Road Projects, Calcutta, 1913.

the general character of the mill-population. In India there has not as yet been created a class of factory-labourers who train themselves in mill-work and who depend upon it for livelihood. It is true that some labourers remain long enough on the lines and chawls and bring their family to live with them but the vast mass of the factory population is shifting, inconstant and irregular in their employment, and characterised by a striking disparity between the proportions of the sexes.

In the mill areas in Bombay the disparity in the sex-proportions is shown below :—

The number of females to 1,000 males.

Byculla	...	580.55
Tadwadi	...	566.84
Mandvi	...	423.94

In Howrah we have already seen that there are only 562 females to 1,000 males. Thus intemperance and prostitution become easy and natural.

The social conditions in our mill-towns represent only a more squalid and degrading phase of life of our important cities. We have already described the unnatural life of our labourers in the Bombay chawls and the Howrah *bustees*.

In Calcutta and Bombay the problem of housing accommodation has become extremely serious. The increase of rents has been phenomenal and this has tended to break up the joint family. Where families still live under the same room they often divide the house into separate portions. In Northern Calcutta, the portion of the residence of the Bengalee population, the system of actually dividing dwelling houses amongst several co-heirs is a very potent factor in the production of insanitary property. Thus a big dwelling is divided into a number of mean little houses with totally inadequate open spaces and most of the rooms imperfectly lighted and ventilated. Ordinarily, however, much of Northern Calcutta contains only from 9 per cent. to 12 per cent. of total open space, which is an appalling figure, and the buildings are generally twice the heights of London, Birmingham, and Liverpool slums. This fact of the much greater height of Calcutta slums magnifies the insanitary conditions. London and English city slums, of which we have heard so much, and which are steadily being cleared away at great ex-

pense, are commonly but two stories in height, and all are provided with an incomparably better street system than we find anywhere throughout Calcutta, excepting only in the small Park Street area. Nor is any European slum allowed to be over-crowded to an extent even approaching the condition now existing in Calcutta. Calcutta, inside the area enclosed by Circular Road and the River Hooghli, contains no less than twenty-two blocks of residential property, each having no street system, and served internally only by tortuous lanes, passages, and fragmentary lengths of narrow streets. The average size of each block is 100 acres. The total area is about 2,200 acres, and can perhaps best be comprehended in the form of 22 squares of closely-built-up streetless property, each square measuring about 2,100 feet by 2,100 feet, or 700 yards by 700 yards, and they cover over 3 square miles. If we include areas outside Circular Road, then we get a total of 2,500 acres of streetless property.

Conditions like these can be found elsewhere only in Bombay, and in Cairo and Constantinople (both dry cities), and Pekin, Canton, Mukden, and other Chinese cities. On a very much smaller scale they occur in Delhi and other Indian cities.

Some of the greatest Western slums appear to have been in Glasgow, many years ago. Their total area of about 90 acres is still spoken of with awe in British municipal circles—in Calcutta a single one of our 22 blocks would beat the Glasgow record hollow, both in area and intensity.*

The effects of these conditions on the health and mortality of the people are alarming. Tuberculosis, which is the most indicating disease of slum conditions, is fast spreading in Calcutta despite the favourable conditions of tropical sunlight and heat.

Number of deaths from Tuberculosis per 10,000.			
1880	...	...	454
1890	...	...	743
1901	...	...	1,064
1904	...	...	1,608
1911	...	...	2,060

The death-rates, general and tuberculosis, of several important cities are given below for comparison.

* Vide Richards—Report on the Town-planning of Calcutta.

	General Death- Rate per 1,000. (1911-12).	Tuberculosis per 1,000.
London	15	1.35
Birmingham	14.1	1.28
Liverpool	17.7	1.49
Manchester	16.2	1.53
Bombay	35.6	.62
		Respiratory diseases (including phthisis 10.94.)
Calcutta	27.2 (Corrected 35).	2.3

There has recently been great exaltation that in Calcutta the death-rates are going down and down, but it must be remembered that these are crude and unconnected, and, as Dr. Crake points out in his Report, "cannot be compared with those of other towns." Still-births are not calculated in Calcutta, as in Bombay and the West, and there is a large number of deaths of persons who leave Calcutta to die in villages that is also not reckoned. Thus the Calcutta death-rate cannot be lower than that of Bombay if calculated in the ordinary way. In all countries the male death rate exceeds the female death-rate. In Switzerland, Germany and Great Britain, the female death-rate is only about 88 per cent. that of the male. This is due to the fact that the females are less exposed to the trials and dangers of life. In the province of Bengal as well the female death-rate is 31 per mille against 34 amongst males. But in Calcutta the ratios are inverted.

The following table shows the death-rate by sex and age in Calcutta and the province.

Age Period. Years.	Calcutta Rate per mille. (1916).		Provincial Rates. (1909).	
	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.
1 to 5	42.2	43.6	37	42
5 to 10	10.1	10.9	14	17
10 to 15	11.2	7.3	10	11
15 to 20	18.1	7.6	20	17
20 to 30	18.1	8.5	21	19
30 to 40	20.0	11.9	22	22
40 to 50	20.3	18.9	24	27
50 to 60	26.2	30.3	35	41
60 and over	121.7	96.4	58	77

At 15-20 years the female death-rate in Calcutta is more than double the male death-rate, while in Bengal Presidency the difference is not so sharp (20 and 17).

From the age of 10 in all age-periods the death-rate amongst females in the city is much higher than amongst males; while in the presidency the male death-rate is generally higher as in other countries of

the world. When we remember this and compare the Calcutta rates with those recorded in England where at all ages from 5-56 years, the death-rate amongst females is distinctly lower than amongst males, one realised the truth of Prof. Patrick Geddes' indictment of Calcutta as a matricidal city.*

The causes of this inversion of the normal ratios of mortality amongst males and females are obvious. In the city, the effect of the insanitary housing arrangement must tell more upon the health of the females than upon the males and especially so, because the purdah system is much more rigid and exacting than in the villages and not only involves the constant exposure of women to insanitary conditions but actually leads to the construction of ill-lighted and ill-ventilated buildings in order to secure privacy to the *zenana*. Apart from the dangers due to the strain of repealed child-bearing and prolonged lactation in tender age and of ignorant midwifery, the ill-ventilated and insanitary houses with the courtyards in the middle, latrines and drains in the vicinity of the water tank and kitchen for exclusive use of women, and the social conventions prohibiting exercises in the pure air outside the precincts of the congested slums and dwellings bear responsibility for the greater mortality amongst females. As a result of a complex variety of causes more economic than social, such as premature motherhood, ignorant midwifery, poverty, insanitary dwellings, want of pure air and healthy exercises, maternal deaths in Calcutta amount to 1 in every 40 as compared with the average rate of from 1 to 2 per 1,000 in England.

The effect of constant exposure to insanitary surroundings, or, in other words, the result of adhering to the *purdah* system in the slums of a large city is also shown by the heavy incidence of tuberculosis amongst girls and young women. Bombay is not so much responsible on this account as Calcutta.

TUBERCULOSIS DEATH-RATE PER 100.

	Calcutta.	Bombay.
Females only	... 3.3	1.02
Males "	... 1.7	.41
Average "	... 2.3	.62
	Respiratory diseases including Phthisis 10.94.	

* Vide Report of the Municipal Administration of Calcutta, 1915-16, Vol. I, page 54.

In Calcutta at 10-15 years of age the incidence was 6 times as great, at 15 to 20 years, it was 4 times as great, and at 20-30 years, 3 times as great as amongst males.

Another effect of the insanitary, ill-lighted dwelling has been that the incidence of blindness among males is lower, but among females is far higher, than in the province of which Calcutta is the capital; and that the loss of sight is less frequent among men than among women, whereas the reverse is the case in Bengal. The figures are given below:—

NUMBER PER 1,000.

	Male.	Female.
Calcutta	63	92
Bengal	78	63
England	100	107.3
United States	100	80.1
Calcutta	100	146.
Bengal	100	80.

One explanation is that males suffering from cataract have recourse to the surgeon

more freely than women. But the effects of the conditions of ill-lighted dwellings must also be emphasised. The occupation of women lies mainly indoors, and the main proportion have to spend the greater part of day and night in small dark rooms filled with the acrid smoke of cow-dung fires, at which they cook their food. The cumulative effect of life under such conditions is apparent from the returns of blindness by age, for two-thirds of the blind women are over 50 years of age. The homesteads in the village are ventilated as the bamboo walls and roofs allow of a more thorough passage of air; the Bengali woman in the village consequently suffers less than her sister who lives in the slums and the insanitary dwellings of the metropolis.

RADHAKAMAL MUKHERJEE

*Lecturer in Economics,
Calcutta University.*

VERNACULARS FOR THE M. A. DEGREE

BY SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

[The following letter was written by Sir Rabindranath Tagore to a correspondent, and is published with the latter's permission. Ed., M. R.]

Dear—,

It is needless to say that it has given me great delight to learn of Sir Ashutosh's proposal for introducing Indian vernaculars in the university for the M. A. But at the same time I must frankly admit the misgivings I feel owing to my natural distrust of the spirit of teaching that dominates our university education. Vernacular literature, at least in Bengal, has flourished in spite of its being ignored by the higher branches of our educational organisation. It carried no prospect of reward for its votaries from the Government, nor, in its first stages, any acknowledgment even from our own people. This neglect has been a blessing in disguise, for thus our language and literature have had the opportunity of natural growth, unhampered by worldly temptation, or imposition of outside authority. Our literary language is still in a fluid stage,

it is continually trying to adapt itself to new accessions of thought and emotion and to the constant progress in our national life. Necessarily the changes in our life and ideas are more rapid than they are in the countries whose influences are contributing to build the modern epoch of our renaissance. And, therefore, our language, the principal instrument for shaping and storing our ideals, should be allowed to remain much more plastic than it need be in the future when standards have already been formed which can afford a surer basis for our progress.

But I have found that the direct influence which the Calcutta University wields over our language is not strengthening and vitalising, but pedantic and narrow. It tries to perpetuate the anachronism of preserving the Pundit-made Bengali swathed in grammar-wrappings borrowed from a dead language. It is every day becoming a more formidable obstacle in the way of our boys' acquiring that mastery of their mother tongue which is of

life and literature. The artificial language of a learned mediocrity, inert and formal, ponderous and didactic, devoid of the least breath of creative vitality, is forced upon our boys at the most receptive period of their life. I know this, because I have to connive, myself, at a kind of intellectual infanticide when my own students try to drown the natural spontaneity of their expression under some stagnant formalism. It is the old man of the sea keeping his fatal hold upon the youth of our country. And this makes me apprehensive lest the stamping of death's seal upon our living language should be performed on a magnified scale by our university as its final act of tyranny at the last hour of its direct authority.

In the modern European universities the medium of instruction being the vernacular, the students in receiving, recording and communicating their lessons perpetually come into intimate touch with it, making its acquaintance where it is not slavishly domineered over by one particular sect of academicians. The personalities of various authors, the individualities of their styles, the revelation of the living power of their language are constantly and closely brought to their minds—and therefore all that they need for their final degrees is a knowledge of the history and morphology of their mother-tongues. But our students have not the same opportunity, excepting in their private studies and according to their private tastes. And therefore their minds are more liable to come under the influence of some inflexible standard of language manufactured by pedagogues and not given birth to by the genius of artists. I assert once again that those who, from their position of author-

ity, have the power and the wish to help our language in the unfolding of its possibilities, must know that in its present stage freedom of movement is of more vital necessity than fixedness of forms.

Being an outsider I feel reluctant to make any suggestions, knowing that they may prove unpractical. But as that will not cause an additional injury to my reputation, I make bold to offer you at least one suggestion. The candidates for the M. A. degree in the vernaculars should not be compelled to attend classes, because in the first place, that would be an insuperable obstacle to a great number of students, including ladies who have entered the married state; secondly, the facility of studying Bengali under the most favorable conditions cannot be limited to one particular institution, and the research work which should comprehend different dialects and folk literature can best be carried out outside the class; and lastly, if such freedom be given to the students, the danger of imposing upon their minds the dead uniformity of some artificial standard will be obviated. For the same reason, the university should not make any attempt, by prescribing definite text-books, to impose or even authoritatively suggest any particular line of thought to the students, leaving each to take up the study of any prescribed subject,—grammar, philology, or whatever it may be, along the line best suited to his individual temperament, judging of the result according to the quantity of conscientious work done and the quality of the thought-processes employed

Yours Sincerely

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

THE RISE IN THE PRICES OF COTTON PIECE GOODS

THE four years of war have witnessed a phenomenal rise in the prices of most commodities. In few cases however has the rise been more marked than in the case of cotton and its manufactures, and in no case has the rise of prices caused so much hardship to the poorer classes of the population as the rise in the prices of

cotton goods. It is true that all the Provinces have not suffered equally from the rise; those parts of the country which are near to the great centres of the Indian cotton industry, and those where the handloom industry still flourishes, have suffered less than those parts which in normal times depend upon imported piece

goods. It is an indisputable fact, however, that all parts of the country have suffered in greater or less degree, and that even in those parts which have been least affected the rise has been considerable and the distress acute.

The object which I have set before me in writing this paper is to make an enquiry into the causes of the rise in the price of cotton piece goods with the help of statistical data, and to discuss the suitability of different measures of relief. The conclusions at which I have arrived are not novel. They are such as have long been apparent to men with knowledge of the business and to students who have taken an interest in the subject. All I can claim for this paper is that I have tried to place all the relevant facts and figures together and to arrange them in a systematic way and thus to test how far the general conclusions formed on the subject are capable of being supported by statistical evidence.

THE EXTENT OF THE RISE.

The following table gives the index numbers of wholesale prices of cotton piece goods in Calcutta and Bombay during the period of our enquiry, taking July 1914 as the base.

Index numbers of wholesale prices of Cotton Piece Goods.

	Calcutta.	Bombay.
I. July, 1914	100	100
II. August, 1915	94	94
III. August, 1916	139	120
IV. August, 1917	225	182
V. December, 1917	262	241

It will be seen from the above table that between July 1914 and December 1917 prices of piece goods rose by about 150 p.c. There was a temporary fall immediately after the outbreak of the War, and in August, 1915, i.e., one year after the outbreak of the War, the index numbers show a fall of 6 p.c. Since then prices have risen without a break, and in the latter part the rise has been more abrupt than in the former. I have not got figures for any date later than December, 1917. But if such figures were available they would probably show that in the present year the rise has been still more abrupt.

THE CAUSE OF THE RISE.

The main cause to which our attention is directed is the shortage in the supply. England is our chief source of the supply of cotton piece goods. Owing to the rise in

the price of raw cotton all over the world and in wages in England there has been a serious increase in the cost of manufacture of cotton goods. Besides these, the heavy demand for the Army has absorbed increasing quantities of the produce of English Mills, and the rise of ocean freights has made it difficult and expensive to transport to India what goods are available in England. All these causes have induced the manufacturers of Lancashire to produce much smaller quantities for the Indian market. Against this reduction in the supply from England we have to set the increase in the imports from other countries (particularly Japan) which has taken place in recent years, as well as the increase in the production of Indian Mills. It is, therefore, necessary to estimate as accurately as possible the actual shortage in the quantity of piece goods available for consumption in the country. The following table compiled from figures taken from the "Review of the Trade of India" enables us to make this estimate. (Quantities are given in Millions of yards).

	Quinquennial average for (1909-10) (1913-14).	1914-15.	1915-16.	1916-17.	1917-18.
Imports	2,617	2,419	2,118	1,892	1,523
Home Production	1,106	1,135	1,442	1,577	1,650*
Exports	90	67	114	245	172
Total available for consumption in India	3,633	3,487	3,446	3,224	3,001
Shortage as of		146	187	410	662
with Qq. : average			or 5%	or 11%	or 18%

The comparisons in the above table are made with the pre-war quinquennial average. This is done in order to eliminate the error due to variations in annual figures. The year 1914-15 is useless for purposes of comparison. The two succeeding years show a shortage of 5 p.c. and 11 p.c. respectively. I have not got exact figures for the Indian production in 1917-18. But taking 1650 millions as the probable output of Indian Mills in that year, we have a shortage of 18 p.c. in 1917-18.

It is also seen from the above table that in the five years preceding the war we were dependent for 73 p.c. of the total consumption of Mill-woven goods on foreign imports. In 1916-17 this percentage had come down to 59, and in 1917-18 (relying

* Figure for twelve months calculated from that of ten months published some months ago by the cotton committee.

on our probable estimate of Indian output) to about 50. Almost the whole of the imported goods comes from England. According to the "Review of the Trade of India" England's share in the total imports in the pre-war quinquennium was 97 p.c. In 1916-17 her share was 93 p.c. Of the total imports in 1916-17, again, Japan supplied 4.5 p.c. and America, Holland and Italy together 2.5 p.c.

By far the greatest portion of the trade lost by England has gone to the Indian Mills. In the pre-war quinquennium the share of the Indian output in the total consumption was 27 p.c.; in 1916-17 it was 41 p.c. and in 1917-18 (probably) about 50 p.c. This apparent increase, however, does not mean an equal increase in the quantity supplied by the Indian Mills, for the percentage is calculated on a much smaller base.

During the three financial years ended in March 1917 the Indian Mills raised their production of piece goods from 1106 million yards to 1577 million yards, thus showing an increase of about 43 per cent. over the original amount. But no less than 33 per cent of the increase was exported, thus leaving only two-thirds of the increased output for home consumption. The quantity exported in 1916-17 was nearly three times the average for the five years preceding the war. This is very anomalous. In the presence of a great rise in home prices, it was to be expected that the large quantity of Indian piece-goods which in normal times is exported to foreign countries would be drawn into the home market. Instead of that we find an actual increase in exports in two successive years, and this in spite of the rise of ocean freights and the exchange difficulties caused by a favourable balance of trade.

There would have been some reason for the increase in the exports if the prices of piece goods in foreign countries had risen higher than they have in India. As it is, the export prices show a progressive fall during this period. The following are the declared prices for exported piece goods during the four years (1913-14) to (1916-17):—

1913-14	3a.	10p.	per yard.
1914-15	3a.	9p.	per yard.
1915-16	3a.	6p.	per yard.
1916-17	3a.	4p.	per yard.

The above figures show a fall of 13 p. c. till 1916-17. In 1917-18, however, exports

fell to 70 p. c. of the preceding year, and this fall in quantity was accompanied by a rise in the export price to 4a. 8p. per yard.

I have so far considered the amount of the shortage from our main source of supply, England, and also how far this shortage has been made up by increased supplies from other sources. I have shown that the actual reduction in the quantity supplied by England has not been made up to any great extent by the increased supply from these sources, and that in 1917-18 there was on the whole a shortage of about 18 p. c. of the pre-war quinquennium. I shall now consider how far this shortage in quantity justifies the rise in the price. But for this purpose annual averages are not a safe guide. When the period taken into consideration is only four years, twelve months seem to be too long to be taken as the unit of comparison. Besides in a rapidly changing market, where prices and quantities between the beginning and the end of a year may show a rise or fall of 50 to 100 per cent, the annual figure does not indicate clearly the rise or fall which has occurred in the course of the year, or when a particular sharp alteration has commenced. For these reasons I shall take one month as the unit for comparison. I shall try to show how imports have fallen from month to month, and how far there is a correspondence between this fall in imports with the rise in prices which has accompanied it, bearing in mind all the while that owing to increased supplies from other sources, the actual shortage is something less than the fall in the imports.

The figures for monthly imports of piece goods published in the *Gazette of India* show large fluctuations. But as we proceed from August 1914 onward we find that these fluctuations take place round a steadily decreasing mean. It is not safe to take the figures of any particular month and compare it with the price for the corresponding month. I have, therefore, in the case of quantities taken the quarterly averages instead of actual monthly figures. In the case of prices, however, no such precaution seems to be necessary, for they are fixed with reference to long periods, and show throughout a steady fall or rise.

I shall take the average quantity of imports for the three months May to July 1914 as the base, and compare with it the

quantities at different subsequent points. The following table gives a fair idea of the reduction in import :

Index numbers of quantities of imports.

I.	Quarterly average for May-July, 1914	100
II.	Do Sept.-Nov., 1915	74
III.	Do Sept.-Nov., 1916	73
IV.	Do Sept.-Nov., 1917	70
V.	Do January-March, 1918	52

In the prices table given in a previous paragraph July 1914 is taken as the base and comparisons are made with August of the three successive years and December of 1918. Columns 2, 3, 4, 5, of the prices table is taken to correspond with the same columns of the Quantities table. In other words the prices at each successive point of time are supposed to represent quantities which were imported in the next three months. The reason for this course is obvious. As sales are made for future delivery the goods that are sold in, say, the Calcutta market to-day are those which have been contracted for in Lancashire within the last week, and which will not arrive at Calcutta till about two months hence. Thus the wholesale price in Calcutta in August is not the price of the goods which are imported in August, but which will be imported perhaps in October.

* I now proceed to make the comparison. In the course of a little over one year after the war the index number of quantities drops to 74, and continues in the neighbourhood of that figure during the two successive years. Prices, however, do not show any sudden rise. On the contrary the index number of prices at Calcutta shows a fall of about 6 points in the first year of the war. After that prices are not constant (as in the case of quantities) but show a steady rise. The slowness of the rise is explained partly by the fact that there had been excessive imports in the year preceding the outbreak of war and partly by the fact that prices are determined by the course of supply extending over long periods. In August 1916 the index number of prices stood at 139 and the index number of quantities in the next quarter at 73. At this point there appears to be a fair correspondence

* I have taken the wholesale prices in Calcutta for comparison, because the Calcutta market more than the Bombay market depends on imported piece goods.

between the supply and the rise in price, and by this time the price movement had probably overtaken the movement in the supply.

At the end of the next year, however, while the index number for quantity is still at 70, the price index at Calcutta has risen to 225, i.e. a rise of 86 points over the corresponding month of the previous year. Four months after, in December 1917, there is a rise of about 40 points in the price index, but to match it there is a fall of about 20 points in the quantity. Taking the index number of prices in December 1917 and that of quantities in the next three months, we find that a reduction of about 50 p. c. in quantity is responsible for a rise of about 160 p. c. in the price. This is apparently the measure of the elasticity of our demand for imported cotton piece goods. But I can not think that it is the true measure. It is difficult to believe that a reduction of 50 p. c. in the import should induce buyers to pay more than two-and-a-half times the price which they were paying in normal times. Demand would have to be very inelastic before consumers would submit to this squeezing. It is probable that the quantities imported from month to month have not been freely placed on the market, and that the market price is the demand price for quantities very much smaller than those imported.

The probable conclusion that the rise in wholesale prices is not justified by the shortage in the supply receives support from the fact that the rise in market prices has been far in excess of the rise in the import prices. If the rise in market prices were entirely due to shortage, we should expect to find a nearly equal rise in the import prices. This has, however, not been the case. The following table compiled from figures published in the *Gazette of India* shows the rise in import prices :

Index numbers of declared values per unit of imported piece goods.

I.	Quarterly average for May-July, 1914	100
II.	Do Sept.-Nov., 1915	105
III.	Do Sept.-Nov., 1916	138
IV.	Do Sept.-Nov., 1917	186
V.	Do Jan.-March, 1918	209

Comparing the above table with the table for whole sale prices at Calcutta we find that by August 1916 the market price rises to the same extent as the import

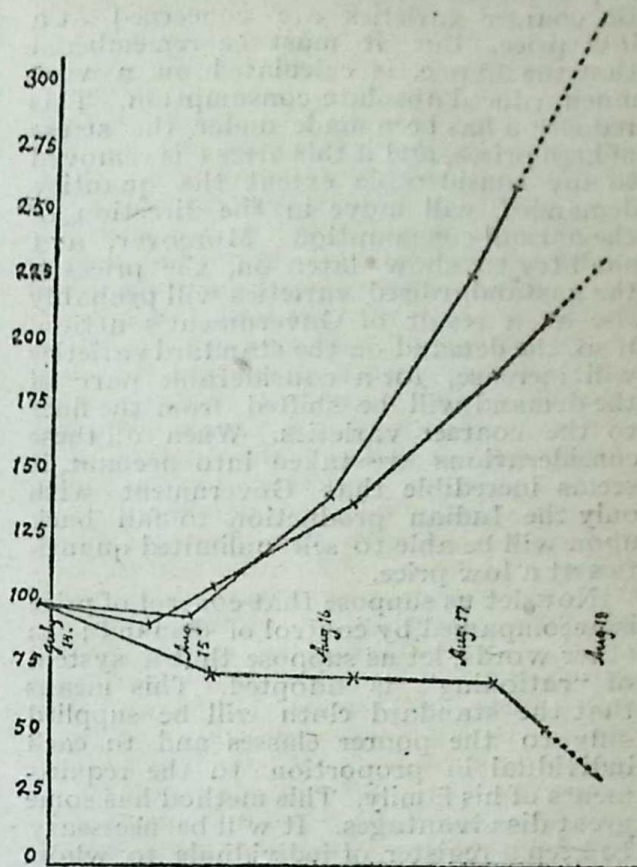
price. After that point, however, there begins a clear divergence between the rise in the two prices. It is exactly at this point, moreover, that the market price begins to show an abrupt rise, although the quantities of imports remain constant for one year more. In August 1917 the market price rises to 225 while the import price in the next quarter rises only to 186. In December 1917 the Index number of market prices rises to 262 while the Index number of import prices in the next quarter rises only to 209. It must be noticed that this difference is not a difference in the two prices, but a difference between the rise in one case and the other. It therefore shows that the whole of the rise in market prices is not due to increased cost of supply. I think it probable, therefore, that out of a rise of about 160 p. c. recorded in December last year, something like 50 p. c. is due to causes other than the rise in expenses of production and transport, and the main cause is probably speculation.

The graphs at the top of the next column show the reduction in quantity and the rise in prices and declared values.

REMEDIES.

In considering the various means which may be devised to meet the present situation, I wish to give the first place to the scheme adopted by the Government. It is proposed to empower the Government "to require the mills to manufacture certain kinds of cloth, for which they will be paid at rates fixed so as to allow a reasonable margin of profit. The cloth so produced will be retailed to the public at strictly controlled prices, either through the agency of Government shops or of licensed vendors." Local administrations will probably be required to make estimates from time to time of the quantities which they will require, and orders will accordingly be distributed among the Mills. It is considered "undesirable, even if possible, to assume control over imported cloth."

It has not appeared so far whether in respect of the standard cloths Government will exercise any control over the demand. Local administrations will make estimates of the quantities required for their provinces. But this requirement will depend on the prices at which the cloths are available. If the prices are low, the re-



quirement will be great, if the prices are high, it will be small. The object which Government have in view is to keep prices down at a level justified by the price of raw cotton and other expenses of manufacture, including of course the manufacturer's profit. It is certain that these prices will be considerably lower than those at present ruling for the same varieties of goods. The question is, whether in the absence of any control over demand Government will be able to sell at these prices, in other words, whether government will be able to sell any amount of the standard cloth which the public will be ready to purchase at the fixed price. At first sight it may appear that it should not be very difficult. At present about 50 per cent of the total consumption of cotton piece goods in the country is supplied by Indian Mills. Besides this considerable quantities are exported. If the whole or the greater part of the producing capacity of these Mills is requisitioned by the Government, it may

be possible to satisfy the demand so far as the coarser varieties are concerned at a low price. But it must be remembered that the 50 p. c. is calculated on a very much reduced absolute consumption. This reduction has been made under the stress of high prices, and if this stress is removed to any considerable extent the quantity demanded will move in the direction of the normal consumption. Moreover, as I shall try to show later on, the prices of the unstandardised varieties will probably rise as a result of Government's action. If so, the demand on the standard varieties will increase, for a considerable part of the demand will be shifted from the finer to the coarser varieties. When all these considerations are taken into account, it seems incredible that Government with only the Indian production to fall back upon will be able to sell unlimited quantities at a low price.

Now let us suppose that control of price is accompanied by control of demand; in other words, let us suppose that a system of "rationing" is adopted. This means that the standard cloth will be supplied only to the poorer classes and to each individual in proportion to the requirements of his family. This method has some great disadvantages. It will be necessary to keep a register of individuals to whom the cloth may be supplied, the size of their families, and of the quantities supplied to each from time to time. Moreover in a country like India where the bulk of the people are ignorant and slow to defend their rights the system will prove an engine of oppression in the hands of officers who are appointed to assess the requirements of each family and of unscrupulous dealers. Let us suppose, however, that this system is adopted, and safeguards are provided to minimise its defects as far as possible. In this case there will be no fear of the supply running short. The poor people will get their cloth cheaper. But unless the supply can be increased they will not get enough. The advantage of government control will come to them in the shape of more surplus money on their hands, but not in the shape of more cloth.

I shall now consider briefly what effect is likely to be produced on the prices of the finer varieties of cloth by the course proposed to be taken by Government. I have shown above that if the supply of the standard

cloth is to bring any relief to the poorer classes, it will have to be in such quantities as will engage the entire producing capacity of the Indian Mills. Consequently there will be a further shortage in the supply of the finer varieties of cloth. As the price of coarse standard cloth falls, the price of the finer cloths will rise. If it were possible for Government to undertake to supply unlimited quantities of standard cloth, a considerable part of the demand would ultimately be shifted from the finer to the coarser varieties. This is, however, not possible, and there is the likelihood of a marked cleavage between the prices of finer cloth and those of coarser. The greater part of the cloth which is imported from England belongs to the former category rather than the latter. It is clear, therefore, that speculation in imported cloth will go on unchecked, and will probably increase, for it is the prospect of a rise which is the main cause of speculation. In view of this fact it is a pity that Government should at the outset deny itself the power to control the prices of imported piece goods.

The policy of controlling prices is efficacious as a remedy for speculation. It cannot (in the absence of a system of distribution according to needs) cope with a real shortage. It can merely keep down prices to the level at which the quantity available can be disposed of in the open market. But that is the limit. If there is a shortage in the supply, the Government fixed price will have to be raised. That being so, if the war should continue for some years more, and if the present tendencies should continue to act, the policy adopted by the Government towards Indian products (even if it should be extended to control over imported goods) will fail to check distress. So long as the war continues we may expect this tendency to continue at a progressive rate from year to year and even from month to month. It is not unlikely therefore that in the near future we shall have to consider seriously the problem of increasing our output. The Indian cotton industry with its present supply of machinery and labour is not capable of unlimited expansion, and something will have to be done in order to make the country more and more self-dependent in respect of its production of cotton goods.

One way of solving the problem which has recently found much favour in Bengal

is to fall back on the old economy, to encourage the cultivator to grow cotton on his land and work it up to finished cloth in his home. I do not think that the introduction of the "Charka" (spinning wheel) is so closely bound up with the problem of growing cotton on one's own land that the two things must needs be taken up together, and when the real difficulty is about manufacturing raw cotton, it is unwise to obscure the problem by introducing the question of growing cotton. True, in Bengal in olden times the two things went together. But it need not be the case at the present day, when any quantity of raw cotton can be had from distant parts of the country at a price. Of course, if the price of raw cotton has gone up so high that it is more profitable to grow on one's own land than to buy it, then it is surely advisable to choose the former course. But in that case it would also be profitable to grow cotton for the market in preference to other crops. I think the question of extending the cultivation of cotton should be decided merely by reference to its relative value and that handloom weaving can be carried on even in those parts where climatic conditions do not allow cotton to be grown locally.

Handloom weaving again has to be considered by comparing it with Mill weaving, and here the advantage undoubtedly lies with the latter. The former may be a useful makeshift to tide over the present emergency, but as a feature of normal industry it is doomed. When after the war normal conditions are once more es-

tablished the Mill industry will be in a far better position to withstand foreign competition than any extensive handloom industry which may be built up during this period of distress. It is not a wise policy to lay hold of anything which comes in our way to cope with the present difficulty, but to lay our plans carefully, and build an organisation which will not collapse at the first touch of foreign competition. Every industrial country which is not seriously affected by the war is employing its present advantage to build a firm industrial organisation which should be a tower of strength in the struggle of the future, and it will be a poor record for India to show that in this long war she was content with a few patches on her old industrial structure.

To me it seems clear that as a solution of the present cotton problem and as a preparation for the future industrial struggle the least we can do is to extend the Mill industry. It is true that at the present time it is difficult to obtain machinery from abroad, and the training of labour will also take time. But if the problem is handled earnestly, it may not be impossible to find a solution. Things which before the war appeared to be impossible have been made possible because governments and peoples have had to do them. And if the question of clothing the people is tackled with any thing like the same determination and courage the difficulty may not be insuperable.

BIJOY KUMAR SEN, M. A.

THE SEARCH FOR GOD

BY MAHARSHI DEVENDRANATH TAGORE.

"He is not perceived by the eyes, nor through speech, nor any of our organs, nor by austerities, nor any deeds.

Only the mind, purified by wisdom in meditation, finds Him who is without parts."

GOD is not perceived by the eyes, but we see the manifestation of His spirit of wisdom in the spirit of man.

He is not heard by the organs of hearing, yet we are able to hear His commands.

He is beyond all our senses, yet we

can experience the truth and grace of His nature and quench our thirst with His immortal love.

Thus it is true that our senses cannot apprehend Him, yet the relation of our spirit to Him is deep and intimate. By purifying the mind with wisdom in meditation we can perceive Him directly in our soul.

When we feel that He is watching over us in love, and that His eyes of love are

gazing into ours, then we know inwardly that we are one with Him. As His nature is one of love, so ours is also.

If we look on Him with indifference then we cannot understand His love. But if we seek Him with the longing of pure love, then a new image of beauty will rise before our minds.

Love cannot fulfil its own nature unless there is some one to love. The love, with which God loves us, is the same as that which draws our own souls to Him. He gives us the fullness of His love, and the meaning of our own life is fulfilled if we are able to give Him one drop of our love in return.

Like the tender love of a mother for her child, so the love of God refreshes the whole world and the heart of every man. He sees in each one of us a separate individual to love and satisfies the hunger for love in each individual heart. If the world had contained but one individual, then that one person would have been the sole possessor of the kingdom of His love. And so wonderful is His love that, even among the countless souls of men, He still regards each one as the complete owner of His love's kingdom.

An earthly king cannot recognise, even by sight, the different subjects of his realm. But the Father of the world takes into His embrace of love every son of this boundless universe and makes each one His very own.

We come into this world understanding nothing. At one time we were unconscious, like clods of earth, enveloped in darkness. But as we saw the light, love came and caught us in its embrace. What attraction was there in us, at that time, that any one should care for us? Yet, long before we were born, God had sent love into the heart of the mother and that love shielded us from all danger. God gave us milk from our mother's breast and love from our mother's heart. We did not ask for His love, it came of itself and possessed us. Long before we loved Him, He was our Father and our Mother and our all. Now that we have come to know and love

Him, He is the same Lover and will remain eternally the same.

Our part is to feel, ever more clearly, the breadth of God's love, and to give, ever more freely, our own love in return. With His love He has initiated us into the sacred service of the world through suffering and pain. Even now, we are becoming ready to dwell with Him in the eternal fullness of His love.

God has prepared His answer to our prayers even before we have uttered them. He has dispensed for us all the things we desire even before we have consciously desired them. The width of His love is incomparably greater than this narrow world. Here, in this life, the things from which we expect most benefit disappoint us. Even those who most care for us give us cruel suffering. Only by resting upon the unchanging love of God can we get beyond the hardness and the cruelty of the world. Weak, selfish men, each intent upon his own interest, not considering the needs of others,—such a world as this cannot bring us deliverance.

But in the deep realisation of God's presence there is peace. He has satisfied the longing for love in our hearts by the gift of His own love. We may receive in the world all kinds of blows which give us pain, but in His presence there is peace. We know from experience that we have to return again and again from those to whom we go for the satisfaction of our earthly love to the one life-long Companion. In dependence on Him we are free.

He is our Supreme Friend, the God who is worthy of our worship, the Fulfilment of all our desires.

O God, fill our hearts to the full with Thine eternal love, so that we may ever gaze upon Thy face and be united with Thy sovereign will. Chasten us a thousand times if we transgress against Thee; only forsake us not. Oh dearest Friend, without Thee life is meaningless and void.

(Translated, with abridgment, from the Bengali.)

THE LAST YEARS AND DEATH OF SHIVAJI

I

AFTER his marvellous success in the invasion of the Karnatak (described by me in the *Central Hindu College Magazine*, October, 1918), Shivaji left the Madras plains (about November, 1677) and entered the Mysore plateau, conquering its eastern and central parts.*

From Sera in the heart of the Mysore kingdom (December, 1677), he marched to Kopal, 125 miles north, the fort of which he took, then turned 35 miles westwards to Gadag, and 24 miles south of the latter to Lakshmishwar in the Dharwar district, (capturing the forts at both these places.) The desai of Mulgund, half way from Gadag to Lakshmishwar, had evacuated his fort in terror, and it was occupied by the Marathas. Bankapur, 20 miles S. W. of Lakshmishwar, was besieged unsuccessfully, about the middle of January, 1678. From this place Shivaji retraced his steps northwards, and arrived near Sampgaon in the Belgaum district. At Belvadi, a small village 12 miles S. E. of Sampgaon and 30 miles S. E. of Belgaum, Mal Bai, the widowed lady proprietor, plundered some transport bullocks of Shiva's army when passing by. Her fort was at once besieged, but she defended it most heroically for 27 days, after which it was carried by assault and she herself was captured.†

* His route is thus given in Sabhasad, 91 : Kolhar—Ballapur—Kopal—Lakshmishwar—*Khangauda* desai chastised—Sampgaon district—Balvadi *desain* invested, captured, and "taught a lesson"—Panbala. Chitnis, 142 :—Srirangapattan—Gadag—Lakshmishwar—*Khangauda* desai fled—Gadag—Balved *desain* Mal Bai besieged for 27 days, captured and released. *Shivadigvijay*, 347-357 : Savitri Bai of Belvadi besieged—Gadag—Lakshmishwar—*Gaunda* desai fled—Balvud *desain* loots transport, is besieged and captured. I cannot find *Khangauda* in the maps, but only *Mulgund* and *Navalgund*, (the last being 20 M. N. W. of Gadag.)

† T. S. § 55 thus describes her fate: "A woman named Savitri was the *patelni* (proprietress) of Balvadi. From the shelter of her fort she fought Shiva for one month. On her provisions and munitions running short, she made a sortie, demolished all the siege trenches, and dispersed and slew many of the besiegers. For one day she kept the field heroically, but at last fled vanquished, was captured and

This long check by a woman, before an obscure mud fort, greatly lowered Shivaji's prestige. As the English merchants of Rajapur write on 28 Feb., 1678 : "He is at present besieging a fort where, by relation of their own people come from him, he has suffered more disgrace than ever he did from all power of the Mughal or the Deccans (=Bijapuris), and he who hath conquered so many kingdoms is not able to reduce this woman Desai !"

Soon afterwards Shivaji had another and very great disappointment,—the greatest in his life, which we describe in the words of the Rajapur factors in their letter dated 3rd April. "Jamshid Khan, since the death of his master the Nawab [Bahlol Khan, on 23 Dec., 1677] found himself incapable of longer holding out, agrees with Shivaji to deliver up [the fort of Bijapur and the person of Sikandar Adil Shah] for 600,000 pagodas. Siddi Masaud having intelligence of this, feigns a sickness, at last death, and causes a *handol* publicly to be sent away with part of the army to Adoni, the residue [of his troops] about 4000 sent to Jamshid, pretending that, since the leader was dead, if he would entertain them they would serve him. He presently accepts their service and receives them into the Fort, who within two days seized his person, caused the gates to be opened and received the Siddi in alive, [21st Feb., 1678] Shivaji upon his march hearing this news returns, and is expected at Panhala in a short time." [F.R. Surat, Vol. 107].

In an age when almost every man had his price, Shivaji cannot be blamed for trying to make gains by bribery. The fort of Bijapur was for sale, and he only made a bid for it, and took his chance with other competitors for the position of keeper of the puppet Adil Shah, even as Shahji had been the keeper of a puppet Nizam Shah. Masaud and Bahlol were no more disinterested, but certainly less efficient than he

greatly dishonoured. Sakhuji Gaikwad was the doer of this evil deed. Shivaji on hearing of his act, put out both his eyes and thus gave him his deserts. He was imprisoned in the village of Manauli."

would have been as Regent of Bijapur.

The news of the transfer of the Adil Shahi capital to Siddi Masaud (21st February) reached Shivaji on his way from Belvadi through Turgal to Bijapur, and he swerved aside to the west and returned to his own stronghold of Panhala at the end of March or in the first week of April, 1678.

II

At this stage we may conveniently inquire into what happened in Maharashtra during Shivaji's absence in the Karnatak. In November, 1676, an army was sent under Shambhuji to annex some Portuguese territory near Goa. He demanded 60 villages from the Portuguese on the ground that they belonged to the fort of Phonda, which was now in Shivaji's possession; but on meeting with a refusal, he made a rash assault on the Portuguese forces, who beat him off. Then the Marathas left the district for Daman, hoping to find less opposition there. But no permanent gain resulted from this campaign.

During Shivaji's absence (November, 1676—March, 1678), the army left by him at home under Moro Trimbak in the Desh and Annaji Datto in the Konkan, naturally confined itself to the defence of the realm, without venturing to make any aggression. In November, 1677, however, Dattaji taking advantage of the crushing repulse of Dilir and Bahlol by the Golkonda troops (September) roved the inland parts of Kanara and looted Hubli. Early in January, 1678, Moro Panth "plundered Trimbak, Nasik and other considerable places in the Mughal territory." Dilir Khan hastened there with the remnant of his broken army, (middle of February).

III

Shivaji's return home (March, 1678), revived Maratha activity. The districts that he retained in Central and Eastern Mysore as the result of his Karnatak expedition, had to be connected with his old dominions by the conquest of the southern corner of the kingdom of Bijapur, which consisted of the Kopal region north of the Tungabhadra opposite the Bellary district, as well as parts of the Dharwar and Belgaum districts intervening between Kopal and Panhala. This county was held by two Afghans, Husain Khan Miana of Sampgaon (Belgaum) and his brother

Qasim Khan of Kopal. They were fellow-clansmen of Bahlol Khan, and it seems probable that on the death of that chief and the ruin of his family, the defence of these tracts, formerly included in his jagir, was entrusted to them.

Husain Khan was as high and powerful a noble as Bahlol Khan, a brave general renowned for his martial spirit, and commanding 5000 Pathan archers, lancers, musketeers and artillery men. The fort of Kopal was secured by Moro Pant from Qasim Khan for a price. Husain Khan is said by Chitnis (p. 142) to have disputed Shivaji's passage by the Kopal-Gadag route and to have been repulsed. Some time afterwards he was defeated and captured by Hambir Rao near Sampgaon, but dismissed by Shivaji with honour.

"Kopal (105 miles due south of Bijapur and a slightly greater distance south-east of Belgaum) is the gate of the south," and its possession enabled the Maratha dominion to be extended to the bank of the Tungabhadra river and even across it into the Bellary and Chittaldurg districts. Many of the local chieftains who had long defied the Bijapur government and withheld taxes in this ill-subdued border country, were now chastised by the Marathas and reduced to obedience,—among them being the poligars of Kanakgiri (25 miles N. E. of Kopal), Harpan-halli (40 miles S. of Kopal), Raydurg, Chittaldurg, Vidyanagar (? old Vijaynagar), and Bundikot (? Gudicota, 45 miles E. of Harpan-halli.) This country was now formed into a regular province of Shivaji's kingdom and placed under Janardan Narayan Hanuwante as viceroy.

In the meantime, a few days after Shivaji's return to Panhala, his troops attacked Mungi-pattan, on the Godavari, 30 miles south of Aurangabad. (M.A. 166.) It was probably next month that they made a second attempt to get possession of Shivner. They invested the village (of Junnar) at its foot, and at night tried to scale the fort. "Three hundred Marathas climbed the fort walls at night by means of nooses and rope-ladders. But Abdul Aziz Khan was an expert *qiladar*. Though he had sent away his sons and followers to reinforce the faujdar Yahiya Khan in the village, he personally with a few men slew all the infantry of Shiva who had entered the fort. Next morning he hunted out the few who had concealed themselves

in the hill [side] below the fort and among rocks and holes, and released them with presents, sending a message to Shivaji to the effect, 'So long as I am *qiladar*, you will never take this fort.' " (*Dil.* 157.)

IV.

A rupture now took place between Shiva and Qutb Shah, and the diplomatic system so patiently built up by Madanna Pandit fell to the ground. Qutb Shah's indignation had been rising as he found himself made a mere cat's paw of Shiva in the Karnatak adventure. He had borne all the expenses of the expedition and supplied artillery and an auxiliary force for it. But not one of the conquered forts was given to him, not one pice of his contribution repaid out of the fabulous booty carried away by Shiva from that land of gold. And now the Maratha plot to capture Bijapur by treachery destroyed the last trace of patience in the Golkonda king, especially as he had been playing for some years past the flattering role of a chivalrous friend and protector of the boy Adil Shah. So, Abul Hassan arranged for a peace between the new Bijapuri regent, Siddi Masaud, and his rivals (especially Sharza Khan), helped him with money to pacify the unpaid mutinous soldiery, and bound him to wage war against Shiva and "confine him to the Konkan." The Adil Shahi nobles prepared to open the campaign in October next, with about 25,000 cavalry and numerous infantry. But Dilir Khan spoiled the whole plan.

Dilir Khan had exacted heavy and humiliating concessions from Siddi Masaud when he made peace with him at Kulbarga (Nov., 1677.) The odium of that treaty fell on the new regent, and all the disorders in the State and all the sufferings of the people were laid at his door. Distracted by domestic factions, daily insulted and threatened by the Afghan soldiers, and hopeless of preventing "Shiva's boundless violence and encroachments" with the resources of the ruined, divided and bankrupt State, Siddi Masaud wanted to come to terms with Shivaji, but Dilir Khan forbade it, assuring him that the imperial army was ready to help him in fighting the Marathas. Masaud was, however, too bewildered by the disturbances in all parts of the country to listen to this advice. He wrote to Shiva, "We are neighbours. We eat the

same salt. You are as deeply concerned in [the welfare of] this State as I am. The enemy [i.e., Mughals] are day and night trying to ruin it. We two ought to unite and expel the foreigner."

At the news of these negotiations, Dilir Khan grew angry and set himself to conquer Bijapur. Only respect for treaties had kept him from doing so before; but Masaud's breach of faith absolved him from the obligation to spare the Adil Shah. And he now received a most unexpected accession of strength. Shivaji's eldest son Shambhuji was the curse of his old age. This youth of nineteen was violent, capricious, unsteady, thoughtless and notoriously depraved in his morals. For his outrage on a married Brahman woman he had been confined in Panhala fort, but escaped with his wife Yessu Bai and a few comrades to join Dilir Khan. Shivaji sent a force in pursuit, but it was too late. Dilir Khan, on getting Shambhuji's letter, had detached from his camp at Bahadurgarh 4000 men under Ikhlās Khan (the commander of his Vanguard) and Ghairat Khan (his nephew) to advance and escort the fugitive. They met him 8 miles south of Supa, and Dilir himself joined them at Karkumb, 12 miles further north-east. Dilir Khan was thrown into a transport of joy at the desertion of Shivaji's heir to his side. "He felt as happy as if he had conquered the whole Deccan!" (*B. S.* 415.) "He beat his drums in joy and sent a report to the Emperor. Shambhu was created a 7-hazari and a Rajah and presented with an elephant." (*Dil.* 159.) This happened in November, 1678. The Khan with his valuable new ally, halted at Akluj (50 miles south of Bahadurgarh) for some time to prepare for the invasion of Bijapur.

V.

In this danger Siddi Masaud immediately asked for help from Shiva, as agreed upon. The Rajah sent six to seven thousand well-armed cavalry to guard Bijapur. Masaud could not fully trust his ally, he asked the Maratha contingent to halt beside the stream of the village Itangihal (5 m. N. W. of the city), but they came nearer, encamped at Khanapur and Khasrapur, and demanded that one of the gates and towers of the fort should be entrusted to them. Masaud wisely declined. Then they moved to Zuhrapur

and encamped on the plain just outside the walls, thus increasing Masaud's suspicion. Soon the allies began to quarrel openly. The Marathas were detected in trying to smuggle arms and men into the fort, by concealing the arms in sacks of grain and disguising themselves as drivers of the pack-oxen! Then Shiva threw off the mask. He began to plunder and devastate Adil Shahi territory again. His men looted the suburbs of Bijapur—Daulatpura (=Khawasapura), Khusrapura and Zuhrapura, and carried off the rich *banias* for ransom. Near the tomb of Shaikh Ahmad Khawas-Khani, they slew Ali Raza and wounded Siddi Yaqut. But when they reached the tomb of Ibrahim Adil Shah, west of the city, a shot from the fort-guns killed the Maratha commander and the men fled away. Masaud now made peace with Dilir Khan.

A Mughal force was invited to Bijapur, royally welcomed, and sent off with a Bijapuri army under Venkatadri Murari (the confidant of the Regent) and other officers, against the Marathas. They reached Tikota (13 Miles W. of Bijapur) when spies brought the report that Shiva himself had arrived at Selgur (55 Miles W. of Bijapur and the same distance east of Panhala) with 7 to 8 thousand men and wanted to make a night attack on the Mughal or the Bijapuri army, whichever would advance first. But a new quarrel between Masaud and Sharza Khan paralysed the power of Bijapur.

VI

Dilir Khan next marched to the fort of Bhupalgarh, (20 miles N. W. of Jath and 45 miles S. W. of Pandharpur) situated among the Majra hills, which Shivaji had built as a store-house of his property and the refuge of the families of his subjects in the neighbourhood during his wars with the Mughals. By great labour the imperialists dragged some guns to the top of a neighbouring height during the night and next morning began to batter the walls and towers. The assault was launched about 9 a. m. and the Mughals fought with vigour till noon, when the fort was captured, after heavy slaughter on both sides. Vast quantities of grain and other property and large numbers of people were captured by the victors. Seven hundred survivors of the garrison were deprived of one hand and then set free; the

other captives were evidently sold into slavery.

Before this Shivaji had sent 16,000 horse to relieve the fort. They arrived too late, but hovered on the four sides of the Mughals. Suddenly they learnt that Irij Khan and Bajaji Rao [Nimbalkar] were bringing provisions from Parenda to the besieging army, and then they immediately set off rapidly to intercept the convoy. But Dilir Khan detached Ikhlās Khan with 1500 cavalry to the aid of Irij Khan. Twelve miles from Bhupalgarh he overtook the Marathas. Ikhlās Khan's small force was enveloped and he took refuge in a walled village and repelled the Maratha assault with his back to the wall, doing great havoc among the enemy with his artillery, and slaying nearly one thousand of Shiva's men. Then large reinforcements arrived from Dilir Khan, at whose approach the Marathas fled. Dilir then returned to Bhupalgarh, burnt everything that he could not carry off, dismantled its fortifications, and returned to Dhulkhed. [B. S. 418-419; *Dil.* 160; Chitnis 176 differs.]

The fugitive Marathas, however, scored a success. Near Karkamb (30 miles south of Parenda,) they fell in with Irij Khan, looted all his grain and the property of his troops, and forced him to flee with a few men into a small fort hard by, where he was afterwards relieved by his kinsman, Mir Muhammad Khan, the *qiladar* of Parenda. (*Dil.* 161.)

The fall of Bhupalgarh took place about March, 1679. Then followed a period of puzzling intrigue and counter-intrigue between the Mughal viceroy and the Bijapur nobility, and also quarrels between Masaud and Sharza Khan, Masaud and Dilir, and Masaud and his favourite Venkatadri.

VII

On 18th August, Dilir crossed the Bhima at Dhulkhed, 40 m. due north of Bijapur, and opened a new campaign against Masaud. That helpless regent begged aid from Shivaji, sending to him an envoy named Hindu Rao charged with this piteous appeal: "The condition of this royalty is not hidden from you. There is no army, money, or ally for defending the fort and no provision at all. The enemy is strong and ever bent on war. You are a hereditary servant, elevated by this

court. And, therefore, you will feel for this house more than others can. We cannot defend the kingdom and its forts without your aid. Be true to your salt; turn towards us. Command what you consider proper and it shall be done by us." (B. S. 427.)

Shiva undertook the defence of Bijapur, ordered 10,000 of his cavalry to reinforce Masaud, sent from his forts 2000 ox-loads of provisions to the city and bade his subjects send grain and other necessities to Bijapur for sale, so that the citizens and soldiers there might not suffer scarcity. His envoy Visaji Nilkanth reached Masaud with a cheering message, "You hold the fort. I shall go out and punish Dilir Khan as he deserves." Visaji reported to the regent that 5000 Maratha troopers had reached Ainapur (20 m. S. E. of Miraj) and 5000 others Bhupalgarh, waiting for his call to come when needed. (B. S. 427.)

The Mughals took Mangalvide (Sept.) and came nearer to Bijapur. Masaud conciliated Sabaji Ghatge and sent him with the army of Turgal to Indi (28 m. N. of Bijapur.) This detachment had a skirmish with Shambhuji who was out foraging; about fifteen men were slain on each side; Sabaji was wounded but captured 50 horses, 50 oxen, and 4 camels from the enemy. Shivaji's envoy now reached Bijapur with Anand Rao [= Hambir Rao] at the head of 2500 horse. They were welcomed by Masaud and stationed in the Nauraspura suburb. Bajaji [Nimbalkar], now in Mughal service, laid siege to the fort of Akluj, but a Bijapur general named Bahadur marched up from Sangula (32 m. S.) and drove him away.

But on 15th September, Dilir Khan left his camp at Dhulkhed and came very close to Bijapur, reaching Baratgi, 6 m. N. E. of the city, on 7th October. Here he halted and held palavers with Masaud's envoys. On 30th October Shivaji arrived at Selgur, midway between Panhala and Bijapur, with 10,000 cavalry. His first detachment left Nauraspur next day to welcome him there. Shiva wanted to visit Adil Shah; Masaud permitted him to come with an escort of 500 men only. But the Peshwa More Trimbak dissuaded Shivaji from falling into the power of Masaud by entering the fort.

So, on 4th November, 1679, the Maratha king divided his army into two bodies:

he himself with 8 or 9 thousand troopers started by the road of Muslahand Almala, and Anand Rao [= Hambir Rao] with 10,000 cavalry by way of Man and Sangula, to raid the Mughal dominions and recall Dilir from the environs of Bijapur. But Dilir Khan, to whom the capture of Bijapur seemed easy, paid no heed to the Maratha plunder and devastation of those provinces, which were a familiar annual evil, and hoped for the highest rewards from the expected conquest of the Adil Shahi capital. So, he pressed his attack on it, without retreating.

But his siege of Bijapur was a failure. After vainly trying to make peace with Masaud, he left the environs of the city on 14th November and marched westwards, intending to invade the Miraj-Panhala region and create a diversion there, which would quickly recall Shiva home. The scheme seemed promising, as Shambhuji bragged of his ability to capture forts quickly with his Maratha followers and thus make the progress of the imperialists easy, while the petty chiefs (Nayak-wars) of Miraj had been already won over by a Mughal agent.

But his first work was to ravage the Bijapuri territory with insane cruelty. By way of Bahmanhali, Maknapur, and Jalgeri, he reached Tikota (13 m. W. of Bijapur), a rich and populous village, where the wealthy men of the neighbourhood had taken refuge with their families. "The Mughals were utterly unexpected. When Ikhlās Khan with [Dilir's] Vanguard arrived there and began to plunder it, the wives of the Hindus and Muslims with their children jumped into the wells near their houses and committed suicide. The village was utterly sacked. Nearly 3000 men, both Hindus and Muslims, were taken prisoner [for being sold into slavery]... Leaving Tikota on 18th November, by way of Honvad and Telsang, ravaging the country and carrying off the people as slaves, the imperialists reached Athni (43 m. W. of Bijapur.) Here, according to the English factory records, a breach took place between the Mughal general and his Maratha ally. Athni, "a considerable mart," was burnt down and Dilir proposed to sell the inhabitants who were all Hindus. Shambhuji objected to it, but was over-ruled, and began to grow sick of his associates. On 31st November,

Dilir left Athni for Ainapur, 12 miles westwards, but learnt on the way that Shambhuji had fled away to Bijapur.

Since his coming over to the Mughals in November 1678, Shambhuji had been constantly approached by Shivaji's agents with all sorts of persuasions and promises to return to his father. Even Mahadji Nimbalkar, his brother-in-law, though now a Mughal servant, censured him for his act of desertion. (Shambhu reported the matter to Dilir, who put Mahadji in confinement for some days. *Dil.* 160.) But by this time Shambhuji had made up his mind to leave the Mughals. In the night of 20th November he slipped out of the camp with his wife Yessu Bai disguised in male attire and only 10 troopers for escort, rode hard to Bijapur in the course of the day and was warmly received by Masaud. Dilir promptly returned towards Bijapur on learning of Shambhu's flight on the 21st, and sent an agent, Khawajah Abdur Razzaq, to that city to bribe the regent to capture the Maratha prince (28th.) In the night of the 30th, Shambhuji, getting scent of the matter, issued in secret from Bijapur, met a body of cavalry sent by his father to escort him, and galloped away to Panhala, which he reached about the 2nd of December.

VIII.

We shall now trace the history of Shivaji's movements from 4th November, 1679, when he marched out to raid the Mughal dominions in order to create a diversion for the relief of Bijapur. The campaign was not an unbroken success for him. As the Bombay Council wrote on 1, Jan 1680, "He hath both lost and gained." Near Bijapur he was attacked (middle of November) and utterly routed by Dilir Khan, who captured from him 2000 horses, besides prisoners. The defeated Rajah fled to Pattagarh † (Vishram-garh) with only 500 cavalry, having lost the greater part of his army, and summoned Moro Trimbak and Annaji Datto to a council of war there.

* According to Sabhasad, 93, Aurangzib wrote to Dilir to arrest Shambhu and send him a prisoner to Delhi; but the Mughal general, to keep his word to his guest, informed the Maratha prince of the letter and connived at his flight. Unlikely story. B. S. 430 says that Aurangzib summoned Shambhu to his court.

† Patta, 20 m. S. of Nasik, and 20 m. E. of Thal Ghat.

The Peshwa had himself just suffered a reverse in advancing towards Surat; he had been defeated and driven back by Ranmast Khan, a Pathan general, with the loss of 2000 men killed and 400 horses captured.

As Dilir Khan was advancing westwards from Bijapur (middle of November) and seemed intent on laying siege to Panhala, and the presence of Shambhuji in the enemy's camp threatened a civil war in the Maratha State, Shivaji tried to convert Panhala into an impregnable refuge by removing to it the guns of many of his other forts, besides 40 pieces bought from the French. As early as 24th November he had sent Somaji, the brother of Annaji Datto, to remove about 30 pieces of artillery from the forts of Ankola, Karwar, Someshwar, and Phonda, and drag them to Panhala "by the strength of men and buffaloes."

A grand attempt was made to retrieve the two disasters of the middle of November. Towards the end of that month, a fresh army of 12,000 men was assembled near Rajapur in S. Konkan. They looted and burnt that town (26th) and set out (28th) for Burhanpur; but on the way they turned aside to the right towards Malkapur. Shivaji had been greatly relieved by the return of his prodigal son Shambhuji to Panhala (2nd December). At the head of 20,000 horse he set out and overtook his army. The Maratha flood swept into West Khandesh, plundering Dharangaon, Chopra, (4th—6th Dec.), and other rich trade centres, and then turning sharply to the south entered Balaghat, and reached Jalna, a populous town only 40 miles due east of Aurangabad.

Here the godly saint, Sayyid Jan Muhammad, had his hermitage in a garden in the suburbs. As Shivaji always spared the holy men and holy places of all religions, most of the wealthy men of Jalna had taken refuge in this hermitage with their money and jewels. The raiders, finding very little booty in the town and learning of the concealment of wealth in the saint's abode, entered it and robbed the refugees, wounding many of them. The holy man appealed to them to desist, but they only abused and threatened him for his pains. (K. K. ii, 271; *Dil.* 165, T. S. § 58.) Then the man of God, "who had marvellous efficacy of prayer," cursed Shiva, and popular

belief ascribed the Rajah's death five months afterwards to his curses.

Retribution visited the Maratha army very much sooner. Jalna, both town and suburb, was thoroughly plundered and devastated for four days. Then as the Marathas, loaded with booty consisting of "countless gold, silver, jewels, cloths, horses, elephants and camels", were retreating, an enterprising Mughal officer, Ranmast Khan*, attacked their rear-guard, (near Sangamner according to Duff, i. 289.) Shidhoji Nimbalkar with 5000 men opposed him for some days, but was at last slain with many of his men. In the meantime, the Mughals had received very heavy reinforcements from Aurangabad, (20,000 men), and they now threatened to envelop and cut off the entire Maratha army. Under the guidance of Bahirji, his chief-spy, Shivaji, after three days and nights of anxious and ceaseless marching, escaped from the ring of his enemies by an obscure path.† But he had to sacrifice much of his booty, besides losing 4000 cavalry killed and Hambir Rao, his commander-in-chief, wounded. This happened towards the end of December, and Shivaji retired to Panhala to meet his recovered son.

The credit of this victory over the Marathas must be given to the troops immediately under Prince Muazzam, the viceroy of Aurangabad, who had returned to the Deccan "with a vast army" (M.A. 169) in November, 1678. Dilir Khan was too far away in the south, near Bijapur, and too closely engaged with the enemy there to have taken part in the fighting near Jalna ‡

* Ranmast Khan, brother of Khizr Khan Pani, received a robe of honour from the Emperor on 18 September 1682, and was created Bahadur Khan in August next (M. A. 222, 235.) T. S. speaks of him as thanahdar or qiladar of Jalna at this time. We afterwards meet him as thanahdar of Akluj (Dil.)

† According to Sabh. 93, Shiva wanted to retreat by the *Jagdiri* route. The nearest approach to this name that I can find in the environs of Sangamner is *Jekhore*, 5 m. S. E. (*Lud. At.* Sheet 38.)

‡ Sabhasad mentions no Maratha military enterprise between Shiva's battle with Ranmast Khan and his death. B.S. contradicts the theory that the Marathas at all opposed Dilir Khan during these four months. The English records are silent. But Chitnis (176-177) says that Shiva on his return from Jalna expelled Dilir Khan from Bijapuri territory, recovered Bhupalgarh and Bahadur-Binda, and sent Moro Pant with 20,000 men to invade Baglana and capture 27 forts from the Mughals there. All these

IX.

The recent rebellion of Shambhuji had revealed the serious danger that threatened the newly founded Maratha kingdom. The character of his eldest son filled Shiva with the gloomiest anticipations of the future. A profligate, capricious and cruel youth, devoid of every spark of honour, patriotism or religious fervour, could not be left sole master of Maharashtra. And yet, the only alternative to Shambhu was Raja Ram, a boy of ten, whose accession would have meant a long regency. But there was such mutual jealousy and discord among the old ministers of the State, especially between Moro Trimbak, the premier, and Annaji Datto, the viceroy of the West, that a council of regency would have broken up in civil war and the ruin of the State as surely as the Poona council of ministers did a century later. A division of the kingdom between the two princes was then contemplated, but the idea was very wisely given up.

Shivaji tried hard to conciliate and reason with Shambhu. He appealed to all the nobler instincts of the prince as well as to his self-interest, read him many a lecture, showed him his treasury, revenue returns, list of forts and muster-rolls, and urged him to be worthy of such a rich heritage and to be true to all the high hopes which his own reign had raised in the Hindu world. But a born judge of character like Shivaji must have soon perceived that his sermons were falling on deaf ears, and hence his last days were clouded by despair.

The evil was aggravated by intrigues within his harem.* At the age of 47 he had

exploits in January or February, 1680, appear to me improbable, as Shiva was preoccupied with domestic troubles.

* According to Sabh. 72, Shivaji married six wives besides the mother of Shambhuji, Mr. Rajwade (Vol. IV. Intro. 53) infers from the *Life of Ramdas* that Shiva had three wives and two concubines. On 27 May 1674, Mr. Henry Oxinden wrote from Raigarh, "The Rajah was, and is still so busy about his coronation and marriage with two other [blank in the MS. record] women, that it was yesterday before we had audience." Under 8th June 1674 he writes, "The Rajah was married to a fourth (F.R. Surat, Vol. 88.) From a letter of Narayan Shenvi to the Deputy Governor of Bombay, dated 4 April 1674, we learn, "I arrived at Rairi on 24th March.....An order [came] from Naroji Paudit that I should remain in his house until the time of mourning was over for the death of Raja Shivaji's wife, which I did, resting there five days." (*Ibid*) So, one wife of Shiva died in March 1674.

made the mistake of marrying three young women, though he had a wife and two sons living. His old wife, Sayra Bai, the mother of Raja Ram, felt herself neglected by her husband and tried all kinds of charms and love-philtres to win back his affection from her more youthful rivals. Shivaji's harem was, therefore, a scene of veiled warfare,—the queens plotting against one another through their maids, doctors and magicians, and the poor husband trying to find some quiet by sleeping outside. (*Dig.* 458). The question of succession which was constantly discussed during the earlier months of 1680, intensified this conflict of wives. After December, 1679, Shivaji's health seems to have declined (*Chit.* 180), and he seems to have had a premonition of the approach of death. (*Sabh.* 101). This fact made the choice of an heir a live issue, and the plots and counterplots in the harem and cabinet thickened in consequence.

X

On 24th March, 1680, the Raiah was seized with fever and dysentery. The illness continued for twelve days. Gradually all hopes of recovery faded away, and then, after giving solemn charges and wise counsels to his nobles and officers, and consoling the weeping assemblage with assurances of the spirit's immortality in spite of the perishableness of the body, the maker of the Maratha nation performed the last rites of his religion and then

fell into a trance, which imperceptibly passed into death. It was the noon of Sunday, 5th April, 1680, the full moon of the month of Chaitra.

He had not yet completed 53 years of age. The Muslim world ascribed his premature death to the curse of the saint Sayyid Jan Muhammad of Jalna. In Maharashtra there were ugly whispers of his wife Sayra Bai, the mother of Raja Ram, having administered poison to him to prevent his giving the throne to Shambhuji. The earliest mention of this charge is in the *Tarikh-i-Shivaji*, one extant MS. of which is at least as old as 1780. It is repeated in the *Shiva-Digvijaya*, p. 462. Both these works are based on an earlier Marathi history now lost.

The oldest Marathi *bakhar*, that of Sabhasad, is silent on the point, and with good reason. A servant of Raja Ram, in a book written by order of that king and for his eyes, could not possibly have mentioned his mother's murder of her husband even if it had been true. Chitnis tells us that Shambhuji on his accession put Sayra Bai to death on the charge of having poisoned Shiva, but it was in all probability a false pretext for wreaking vengeance on his step-mother for her late attempt to crown her son. Readers of Macaulay's account of the death of Charles II. will remember how at that very time in Europe hardly a sovereign died without the event being ascribed to poison.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

TAXILA : A MEETING-GROUND OF NATIONS.

West is West, and East is East :
Yet once for a while at least
The twin forsooth did meet.

FOR nearly ten centuries, ending with the fifth after Christ, Taxila is said to have been a meeting-ground of nations,—of the West and of the East,—of the Persians, the Macedonians, the Mauryas, the Bactrian Greeks, the Scythians, and the Kushans.

The prompt publication of a *Guide to Taxila* by Sir John Marshall has been a welcome addition to the literature on the subject. It is an illustrated hand-book,

dealing with Topography, History, Art and an account of excavations, commenced near Sarai-kala, twenty miles north-west of Rawalpindi.

The Persian touch, if any, was perhaps an indirect one. The Macedonian contact, though direct, was extremely transitory. But the other nations actually enjoyed a longer direct connection. More than ordinary interest is, therefore, attached to this ancient locality. Information is, however, still "singularly meagre" in spite of the accounts of Greek and Chinese writers.

The name Taxila is of course of foreign

origin. It is a foreign corruption of the Indian name Takshasila, a capital and a University town, famous for the Arts and Sciences of the age. Its origin is lost in oblivion. It is generally admitted that it had an earlier existence than many cities of the ancient world. Its remains are situated in a well-watered valley, protected by a girdle of hills, in the districts of Rawalpindi and Hazara. Within this valley and within three and a half miles of each other, stand the sites of three distinct cities, now known as the Bhir mound, Sirkap, and Sirsukh; of which the first has been found to be the most ancient of all. Sirkap and Sirsukh, though situated in India, were founded by foreign invaders;—the one by the Bactrian Greeks, and the other by the Kushans.

The belief that Taxila was once included in the Indian possessions of the Achæmenid Empire of Persia, founded by Cyrus, (558-529 B. C.), before the advent of the Buddha, rests chiefly on the testimony of Herodotus, corroborated by an inscription in Aramaic characters (p. 75), discovered amidst the ruins of the second city, Sirkap. The real import of this ancient record is, however, still shrouded in mystery. According to one authority, it refers to "the erection of a Palace of cedar and ivory;" according to another to "a private compact and the penalty to be paid for breaking it" (p. 76). From the mention of "a new Indian satrapy" in the inscriptions of Darius at Parsepolis and on his tomb at Nakshi-Rustam, historians suggest that Taxila was probably "included in the Achæmenid Empire of Persia" (p. 8).

The Macedonian connection stands upon evidence of a different character, more direct and undeniable. Taxila was under an Indian Prince named Ambhi, who was at war with his neighbour, Porus. He readily sided with Alexander the Great in his expedition against the common enemy. In consequence of this compact, the Macedonian hero encamped at Taxila for a few days. Whatever political relationship might have thus been temporarily patched up, it was promptly swept away by Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya Empire, at the time of the expulsion of Seleucus Nicator from all his Indian possessions as far as the Hindu-Kush.

Chandragupta, his son Bindusara, and

his grandson Asoka, managed to maintain their occupation of Taxila, inspite of local insurrections to assert independence. As Crown Prince, Asoka and his son acted as Viceroy of this frontier province. The fall of their Empire offered an opportunity to the Bactrian Greeks (described by Sir John by the appropriate name of Eurasians) to regain their lost possession of Taxila. They held it for a time during which some of them adopted the faith and culture of India. All other foreigners, who occupied Taxila in later times, were pure Asiatics in origin.

Thus, there could be no direct influx of European influence through the gates of Taxila. Any influence, which could be directly exerted by the Eurasian Greeks, belonged to a period subsequent to the fall of the Maurya Empire. It was confined to the area then actually under their occupation. The epithet "Hellenistic" is usually applied to such influence, and Sir John Marshal has not accordingly discarded this epithet. He has, however, admitted the existence of an Early Indian Art before the influx of any foreign influence, and has referred his readers to his contributions to the forthcoming Cambridge History of India on the subject.

There is no real evidence, as Sir John has readily admitted, to support the assumption that Persian influence found its way into Indian art at the time "when the Persian Empire extended over the north-west" (pp. 23-24). "A more reasonable view," according to him, "is that the fusion of Iranian and Hellenistic ideas took place in Bactria and the neighbouring countries after their colonisation by Alexander the Great; and that the hybrid art, there evolved, was introduced into India, either as a direct result of the peaceful intercourse between the Maurya Empire and Western Asia, or as a result of the subsequent invasions of the Bactrian Greeks, Scythians, Parthians, and Kushans, all of whom must have been imbued to a greater or less degree with Graeco-Persian culture." (p. 24)

A further reasonable view, as a corollary to this, appears to be inevitable. It is, that "the colonisation by Alexander the Great," and the consequent "fusion" of art in the Bactrian colony, must have required a reasonable time, so that the influence of the fused art could not have been introduced in a hurry into India. It

might have been more probably and more effectively introduced by subsequent invasions than by peaceful intercourse during the Earlier Maurya age.

Foreign influence upon Indian art is a complex problem, which can hardly be solved conclusively with our present state of knowledge. The real sources of knowledge, *literary* and *monumental*, have not yet been adequately tapped. An intelligent combination of the two, and a correct appreciation of their varying relations, have been deemed necessary to discover the foundation for a scientific study. Some writers have, however, started a startling proposition that "Roman art and Roman culture extended their influence as far as Northern India" (p. 31). Here Sir John has, with commendable promptness, cleared the ground by pointing out that this opinion is "based on a fundamental error as to the genesis of Roman Imperial art, and the relation in which it stood to the Hellenistic art of Western Asia" (p. 32).

The observations of Sir John that (i) the fusion of Iranian with Hellenistic ideas took place in Bactria, and that (ii) the real crucible of fusion was Western Asia, should be reconciled to imply that the first fusion had taken place in Western Asia, and the second in Bactria, before the influence of the double hybrid actually penetrated into India. The epithet Greek or Hellenistic, applied to this ultimate product, must, therefore, be understood in an extraordinary sense for want of a better name.

Says Sir John,

"In spite of its wide diffusion, Hellenistic art never took the real hold upon India that it took, for example, upon Italy or Western Asia, for the reason that the temperaments of the two peoples were *radically dissimilar*. To the Greek, man, man's beauty man's intellect, were everything; and it was the apotheosis of this beauty and this intellect which still remained the keynote of Hellenistic art even in the Orient. But these ideals awakened no response in the Indian mind. The vision of the Indian was bounded by the immortal rather than the mortal, by the infinite rather than the finite. Where Greek thought was ethical, his was spiritual; where Greek was rational, his was emotional." (p. 33)

This well-grounded observation at once takes away from Hellenistic art all questionable claims which relate to its having modified the fundamentals of Indian art. Foreign art undoubtedly played an important part; but much misconception

seems to linger as to its exact nature and extent. According to Sir John,

"It promoted the development" of the early National School of Indian art. This signal service is said to have been rendered in two different ways,—(i) by clearing the path of technical difficulties, and (ii) by strengthening the growth with new and enervating ideals." (p. 32)

According to this view, art was to the Indian

"a thing apart,—a sensuous, concrete expression of the beautiful, which appealed intimately to his sub-conscious æsthetic sense, but in which neither intellectuality nor mysticism had any share. For the rest, he found in the formative arts a valuable medium in which to narrate, in simple and universal language, the legends and history of his faith, and this was mainly why, for the sake of its lucidity and dramatic power, he welcomed and absorbed the lessons of Hellenistic art, not because he sympathised with its ideals, or saw in it the means of giving utterance to his own" (pp. 33-34).

This view contradicts the indiscriminate common opinion that "foreign influence underlies the whole fabric of Indian art." It also contradicts the other opinion that "foreign influence was almost a negligible factor." It strikes a middle course, and adopts a "golden mean." In this, it gives credit to Indian art for an extraordinary feat, inasmuch as the lessons of Hellenistic art are said to have been "welcomed and absorbed" although the ideals of Greek art "failed to awaken any response in the Indian mind."

This view, the latest on the subject, deserves a careful consideration. It has to be tested by the testimony of the relics, which lie buried in India. No better site than Taxila, the meeting-ground of nations, could be selected for the purpose; and no better person than Sir John Marshall could be found to direct and conduct the investigation. A classical scholar of special attainments Sir John came out to India with well-earned experience in Archaeology by reason of practical work in Crete under the guidance of distinguished authorities on the subject. His Indian experience has added fresh laurels to his cap. Archaeological exploration at Taxila could not, therefore, have been commenced under better auspices.

The work is still in progress. We have yet to hear the last word on the subject. Meanwhile we are grateful to Sir John for the prompt publication of all up-to-date information. So far as it goes, and it goes far enough for all practical purposes, no relic of undoubted pre-Maurya period

has yet been brought to light. This has obliged Sir John to declare in all candidness that "the history of Indian art at present opens for us in the Maurya age" (p. 24).

According to the Chronology, pieced together and published in Chapter II (pp. 20-22), this age lasted for little over three quarters of a century between 317 and 232 B.C., ending with the reign of Asoka, well-known for extraordinary building-activity.

Materials to illustrate the state of Indian art of this period are as yet few and far between, although the building-activity clearly suggests an undeniable advancement. Sir John ascribes it to foreign agency, and holds that "the indigenous art had not yet emerged from the primitive stage." According to him, "The rudimentary character of the Indian art of this period is well exemplified by the current indigenous coins, known commonly as 'punch-marked,' which are singularly crude and ugly; neither their form, which is unsymmetrical, nor the symbols, which are stamped almost indiscriminately upon their surface, having any pretensions to artistic merit." (p. 24)

This opinion seems to be based upon the assumption that the indigenous coins correctly represented the artistic capacity of the age. The crudeness of coins might, however, be due to neglect. The necessity of minted coin had not yet arisen in India to deserve any attention of the Sovereign or to call for an organised system of manufacture. The shroffs used to impress the "punch marks," to serve the immediate purpose of regulating the current value. The very name, "Coin," was unknown. Even now, in our own day, uncoined copper-bits (dhebuas) are in use in many parts of India. No one will seriously contend that they are relevant specimens of the Indian artistic capacity of our age. Crudeness of coins and highest artistic capacities remained a normal condition of Indian culture in almost all periods of History. The coins of Shahjahan carried no reflection of the Taj. In Greece the case was different, and the Greek Numismatic ideal was carried to the entire Hellenistic world.

Of those who held Taxila in turn in the historic period, the Mauryas alone were Indians. Their city still lies buried in the Bhir mound. Here the digging operations were very limited, being carried out

"mainly for the purpose of satisfying" Sir John "as to whether any remains existed" in the compound of his Bangalow, "before a small garden was planted out."

Some examples of foreign art are said to have been unearthed in the old cities lying buried at Sirkap and Sirsukh. When it is remembered that these two cities were not Indian except in the sense that they were founded on Indian soil, the discovery of examples of pure foreign art in them would not be a matter of surprise. But the examples, though foreign, are not completely foreign in every respect. They cannot also be looked upon as examples of Indian art in a true sense of the term. They may be rather looked upon as examples which reveal an influence of Indian upon the local foreign art of the age. Indianisation of foreigners is more in evidence than Hellenisation of Indians. There are records of traditional actual conversions of some of the Eurasian Greeks to the faiths of India, as in the cases of King Menander (Milinda) and ambassador Heliodorus. But corresponding cases of conversion of Indians are not yet in evidence. Could the result have been different only in the case of art? Here too there might have been an influence of Indian art upon the Hellenistic, and the final result a complete Indianisation. One may reasonably hope to discover its first stage at Gandhara, the second in Taxila, the third at Mathura, and the last everywhere.

Sir John Marshall's painstaking work at Taxila may be rightly looked upon as the inauguration of a new era in Indian Archæological investigation;—an era of method in spade-work, of discrimination in conservation, of scientific solicitude in observation and classification, and of decidedly superior skill in illustrating the monumental records of the past. Let us hope that it will also be the inauguration of an era of mutual co-operation, of the European and Indian scholars, of the official seekers of truth; with Sir John Marshall as "guide, friend, and philosopher."

Many remains of palaces, private dwellings, religious and sepulchral edifices, together with sculptures, inscriptions, coins, and jewelleries, have already been unearthed. An inscribed silver scroll, deciphered and interpreted with skill and knowledge of which any Indologist may well be proud, has disclosed that the ashes

of the Buddha were enshrined by a man of Balkh, on the fifteenth day of the month of Ashadha, in the year 136 of Azes, in a chapel at the *Dharmarajika* stupa, in the district of Tanuva at Takshasila (p. 52). This shows the influence of Buddhism upon the foreigners of the age. Each relic, when minutely examined, may disclose the same evidence, that of Indianisation rather than Hellenisation, indicating vitality of the Indian culture of the time, not only in the domain of religion, but also in that of art, which, in India, was, from its start, a hand-maid of religion.

Sir John has offered an explanation of this. He says :

"The Greeks, with their very elastic pantheon, readily identified Indian gods with their own deities; and just as in Italy they identified Minerva with Athena, or Bacchus with Dionysus, so in India they identified the sun-god Surya with Apollo, or Kama, the god of love, with their own Eros; and they had no hesitation, therefore, in paying their devotion to Siva or to Parvati, to Visnu or to Lakshmi." (p. 26)

This explanation brings us very nearly to the fringe of a rational solution of the complex problem of foreign influence on Indian art. It may help us to cast off many confused notions of the past, and discover the real nature and extent of foreign influence, by encouraging a deeper study of the effect it produced in India. Frequent intercourse with foreign countries could not but have introduced into ancient India much that was not indigenous to the land. But as the indigenous art-ideals continu-

ed to remain unchanged, the final result in every case was a decided ultimate Indianisation. As in Greece, so in India, nay, in every country, independence of art lies in its *perfection*, not in its *origin*. Brunn suggested an analogy to establish the independent character of Greek art in spite of foreign influence. "The Greeks," he said, "borrowed the alphabet from the Phœnicians, yet they wrote with it, not Phœnician, but their own tongue. Even so, they borrowed from their predecessors the alphabet of art, yet always, in art as in literature, spoke their own language." In India the language of art has always been Indian, and its alphabet may also be found in most cases to have been pre-eminently indigenous. It was for this reason that no hybrids were produced in India, as in Western Asia and Bactria. Here the result of foreign contact appears to have been an increased activity, a further development, of the indigenous art, a development which cannot be said to have been achieved by any indiscriminate absorption of foreign lessons by way of blind imitation or reckless borrowing, but by gradual Indianisation, by bringing such examples and such lessons on a line with familiar Indian ideals. For this the casual adoption of a new form of decoration or capital, did not Hellenise Indian architecture, but supplied it with fresh devices to translate Indian thought into artistic forms.

A. K. MAITRA.

INDIAN PORTRAITS

ONE of the fascinating contents of Indian painting is portraiture. The history, long as it is, has necessarily an unwritten beginning, but there are sources which make it possible to study its chief characteristics and gradual development even from a very early time.

Visual art as a medium of expression of form and colour excites human emotions. Thus for its emotional value the art of painting played a significant part in the great religious ages and was largely utilised for ethical purposes. But it could

not always be content to live within a religious atmosphere. The purely representative aspect of pictorial art naturally led to the imitation of forms of familiarity. It was undoubtedly at this stage of art that the idea of portraiture was seriously considered. This would be quite consistent with human instincts. The mind, either of the primitive or of the most cultured, is and has ever been fascinated by the idea of a portrait.

Nothing definite can be said about the nature of very early portraits for want of



A prince (Ajanta.)

substantial records. But literary references and later records make it clear that they conveyed at least such distinct informations about individual persons as were necessary for their identification. The art of portraiture was very popular and evidently considered to be a part of general culture. The early portraits cannot be said to have been faultless representations or speaking likenesses. This want of dexterous realism need not necessarily lead us to undervalue them as works of art. They expressed the sense of form perhaps more truly than any of the modern portraits which try to capture fleeting expressions rather than delineate character. The early portraits attempted to establish the identity of individuals partly by rendering their features and partly by other associations significant or essential for their identification—a motif which was maintained even upto a very late period. Thus none of these portraits could be valued as mere graphic semblances of sitters but as expressions of forms, recollections of appearance and delineations of character suggesting something which the artists had to say—a psychological essential for a true portrait.

With this starting point, the correct estimation of the value of the early Indian portraits becomes easy. In literature



A princess (Ajanta).

they are described as *Chitra-Phalakas*. Literally a *phalaka* means a board. What these *phalakas* were made of, cannot be precisely determined, but judging from the extant remains of painting of different periods and of different places, it may be said that they were probably painted on a prepared medium applied over slabs of terra cotta, stone or pieces of wood. Cloth could also have been used to paint on, but perhaps a painting on cloth would not be a *phalaka* from the literal point of view. The *chitra-sala* served the purpose of a picture gallery. Even princes, we are told, learnt the art of painting and very often painted portraits of their beloved ones. Ladies also appear to have been very keen about painting. It is probable that they too learnt it as an accomplishment. The classic name *Chitra-Lekha*, literally meaning, one who looks like a picture, has an indirect bearing upon the tradition of portraiture.

Literary references show that most of the early portraits were drawn from memory. This however need not give rise to in-



A common man (Ajanta).

credulity nor the delineation of character doubted simply because the drawing was made from memory. If volumes of unwritten literature could be handed down from father to son for centuries, is it too much to expect that an artist would be able to reproduce from memory only a few lines approximately correct? Besides the generalisation of forms, so much introduced in Indian painting, made the process of drawing from memory more or less easy. This treatment naturally led to the elimination of unnecessary and insignificant details, but perhaps the likenesses did not lack in the delineation of character.

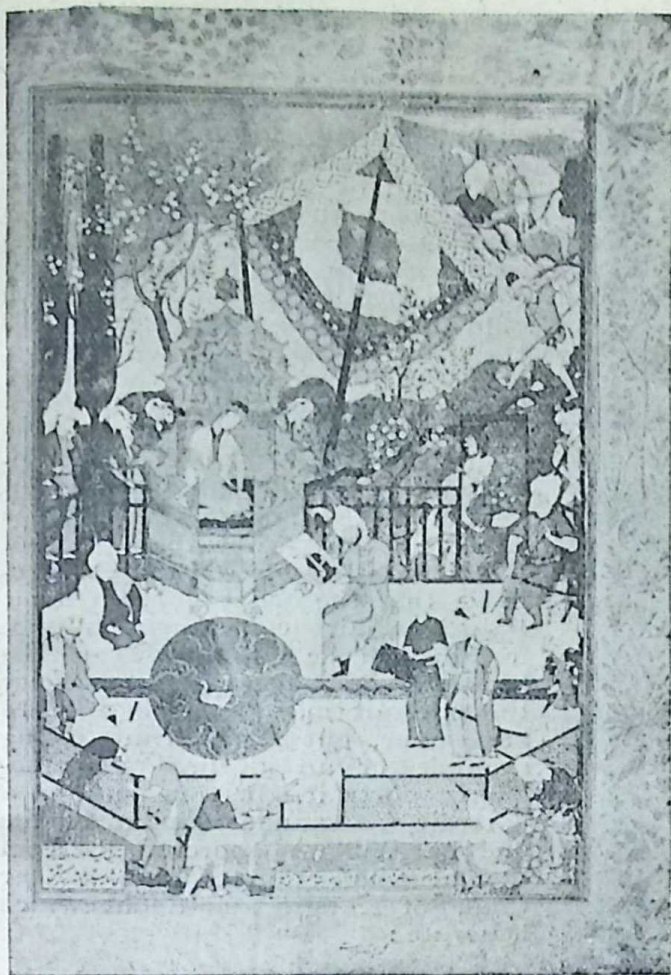
We get a very good idea of the probable nature of early portraits from records of early Indian paintings. The Ajanta frescoes, the latest of which belong to the middle of the seventh century, show a bewildering variety of elegant poses and figures, and various types of faces both of men and women. None of these could perhaps be seriously considered to be actual likenesses; but they help us to realise that portraits of the same period were probably of the same type as the other paintings of the same period. The wonderful variety of the types of faces and the precision with



Alexander the Great.

which they are repeated in the Ajanta walls bear eloquent testimony to the technical skill of the artists and their ability to delineate character in faces, let us say for the sake of argument, even of ideal types. With such technical knowledge at their command it must surely have been less difficult for them to portray the outward aspect of the face from memory.

Three figures from the Ajanta walls, one of a royal prince, the second of a princess, and the third of a commoner, are reproduced here. In each the character of the individuals is rendered with great subtlety. There is something in the face of the prince which shows his high birth, and his



Shahpur presenting Khusrau's portrait to Shirin.

affable and yet dignified disposition. The princess has likewise a distinctive expression of feminine character full of tenderness. The face of the commoner reveals his humble birth.

The portraits of the Moghal school are of a different type. The school was of Persian and Indian extraction and it absorbed both the Persian and Indian motifs and produced something new. Portraiture was one of the contents of the Persian school. Nizami's famous work, *Khusrau and Shirin*, has an interesting reference to the portrait of Khusrau brought to Shirin by the painter Shahpur. Early Persian portraits were purely conventional; but the later ones, although they retained the traditional mannerisms, were not of an unreal type. The early portraits of the Moghal school were substantially Persian, retaining many of



Mira Bai.

the conventional features of the Persian school. This was at a time when the Moghal school was in the making and had not become definitely Indian. Later on it did not depend upon borrowed motifs; it developed a new style in which there was a deliberate attempt at drawing the likeness of the face as true as possible, but at the same time retaining some of the traditional features, such as the conventional treatment of pose and drapery. The best portraits of the Moghal school, however, do not show all these conventional mannerisms. In many portraits the drapery and the drawing of the hands are as keenly felt as the subtle modelling of the face. One wonders not at their dexterity so much as at the simplification of design, and, above all, at the volume of suggestions in a few significant lines. The faces appear almost flat and yet none of them lack in almost invisible but significant modelling which adds character to the likenesses. The determination of this essential modelling in the face in some Mughal portraits is simply wonderful, and shows how much could be achieved by the least number of details if they were judiciously selected.

Abul Fazl records that the court



Shahjahan's Durbar.

painters of Akbar used to draw portraits from life. It is needless to suggest that portraits were not finished before the sitters, but perhaps only sketches of the face were drawn from which several finished versions were prepared. This accounts for the usually large number of exactly similar copies of the same portrait. These copies may or may not be the work of the same artist. It cannot be laid down as a rule that copies prepared by different artists were always inferior to the originals. In most cases they bore the mark of inferiority, but in some cases, even if they were copies of a later period, they are practically indistinguishable from the original. The typical poses and the stiff treatment of the drapery make it probable that they were not drawn from life.

The practice of drawing from life must have been in vogue long before the time of Akbar, as otherwise it would not have been possible to get such fine results in some of the early Moghal portraits. There could not be any doubt that most of the best and remarkable Moghal portraits were drawn from life. The characteristic excellence which pervades them could be attained only by a tradition of long standing. But in spite of this tradition imaginary portraits are not entirely wanting in this school. Such an example is shown in the supposed likeness of Alexander. The name of Alexander had a great fascination for the Moghals, who idealised him as a famous hero. It is difficult to say what the origin of this portrait was. It is not improbable that the artist had seen some Indo-Scythian coin or sculpture from which he got an idea of the head-dress.* As regards authenticity the portrait may be safely said to have none, but it is an interesting example of an idealised and imaginary portrait. It was perhaps a portrait of Alexander similar to the one that Willam Moorcroft got from the large collection of Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra and about which he wrote :

"It represents him (Alexander) with prominent features and auburn hair flowing over his shoulder; he wears a helmet on his head begirt with a string of pearls but the rest of his costume is Asiatic. The Raja could not tell me whence the portrait came; he had become possessed of it by inheritance."

Moorcroft's description tallies with the drawing reproduced here. It is noteworthy that the astute traveller did not throw any doubt on the authenticity of the likeness.

Another interesting reference to idealised portraits of the Moghal school is found in Todd's Rajasthan.

The tyrant (Aurangzebe) had commanded pictures drawn of two of the most mortal foes to his repose, Sewaji and Doorga. Sewa was drawn seated on a couch; Doorga in his ordinary position on horseback, toasting *bhawties*, or barley cakes, with the point of his lance, on a fire of maize-stalks. Aurangzebe, at the first glance, exclaimed, "I may entrap that

* Similar to the Persian Bodhisattwa painted on a wooden panel from Dandan-Uiliq—Pl Lxi; Stein; *Ancient Khotan*.



Joshiji Nagarai.

fellow (meaning Sewaji). but this dog is born to be my bane."

Apparently these portraits could not have been drawn from life, as it is inconceivable that the artists of the Moghal emperor could have access to his mortal enemies. But Aurangzebe seems to have been satisfied with them, perhaps because they helped him in visualising his foes whom he could not see but felt their presence with discomfort and alarm.

The pose in Moghal portraits was more or less stiff and conventional. Equestrian portraits were also common. The face was generally drawn in profile; the three-quarter face was also freely drawn, but the full face was seldom rendered, and was a failure in most cases. Group portraits occurred in darbar and hunting scenes and other assemblies of the like. One chief characteristic element in all these portraits



Nur Japan.

was that the artists very often attempted to contribute some peculiarities to the likenesses suggestive of the character, disposition, rank and sometimes the life history of the individuals represented. Thus, we very often find Akbar holding a grand darbar; the zealous Aurangzebe, no matter where he is, reading the Quran; the satirical Mullah-Do-Piazza on a rickety horse; the love-distracted Sarmad wandering about unclad; the saintly Meera Bai holding a *chamar*; or a lady playing on a *sitar* or gathering flowers in an exquisite garden. The back ground was never emphasised but very discreetly rendered to harmonise with the general effect of the portrait. A flat colour-scheme, with a few touches of gold to break the monotony of space, was the most common motif of the back ground of single portraits. The back ground in portraits of ladies very often showed a decorative treatment in the form of a blossoming tree or a bed of flowers.

The Moghal school possesses portraits of ladies some of which are supposed to be



Raja Bhupatpal.



A Pandit.

those of royal ladies. These, although full of tenderness and great charm, form the subject of a serious controversy. It is doubted whether they could be actual portraits of those whom they are supposed to represent. With reference to the portraits of Moghal court ladies Manucci, a Venetian traveller who was in India during the latter part of the seventeenth century, has noted: "I do not bring forward any portraits of queens and princesses, for it is impossible to see them, thanks to their



A Rajput Warrior.

being always concealed. If any one has produced such portraits, they should not be accepted, being only likenesses of concubines and dancing girls, etc., which have been drawn according to the artist's fancy." There is, no doubt, some force in this remark, but Manucci's assertion cannot be said to be either definitely conclusive or incontrovertible. It is true that conditions in India with regard to women were such as to make the possibility of obtaining their actual likenesses very meager,



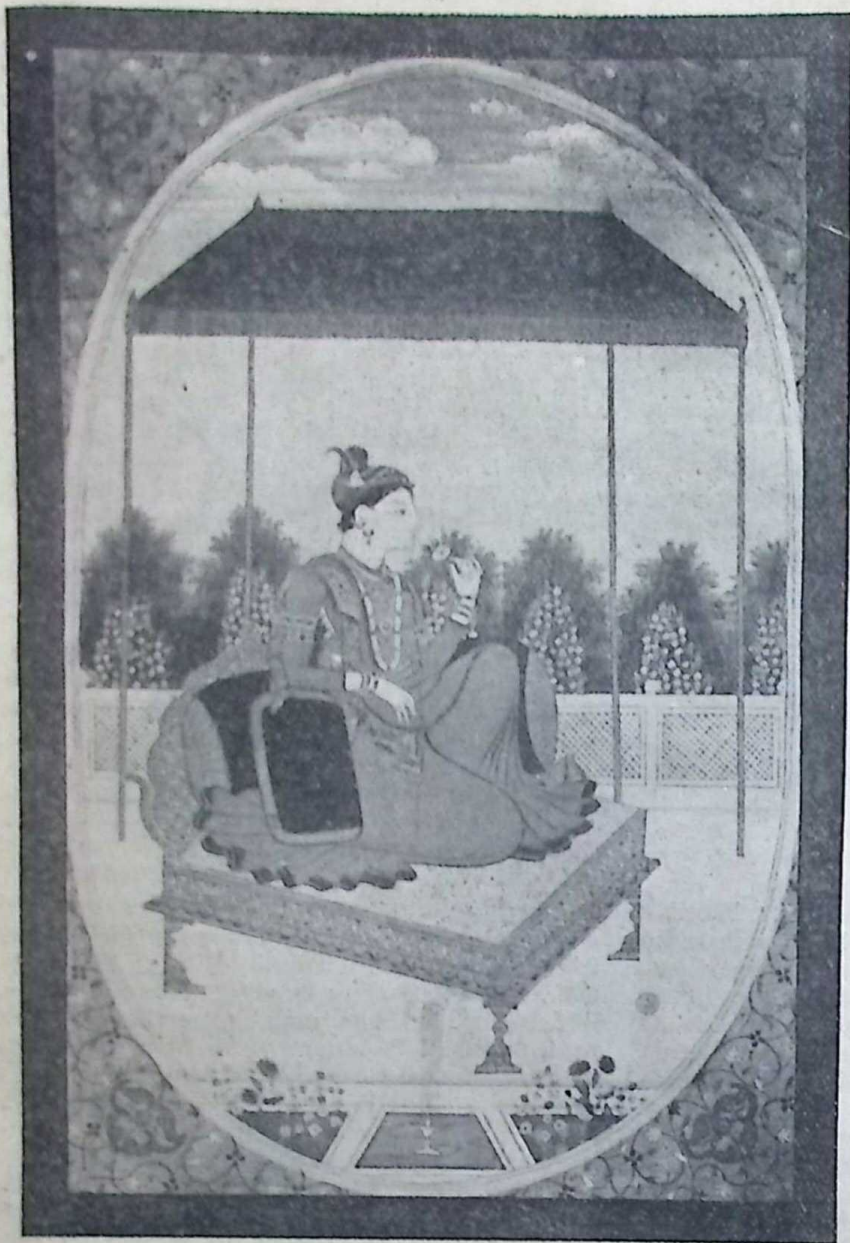
A Prince.

but it was not an impossibility. Woman has indeed been a hidden beauty in India but her delineation in art has never been wanting. Likenesses of noble ladies of the Moghal period are not so numerous as those of men. This is suggestive of the fact that these, whether actual or imaginary likenesses, were accorded some kind of privacy. It is true that portraits of ladies were more or less idealistic, but they do not appear either unnatural or lack in the delineation of character. Manucci's warning may sound reasonable, but it clearly shows that even during his time portraits of ladies were found, and some of these at least were said to be those of royal ladies. This proves that the act of inscribing portraits of ladies as likenesses of royal princesses is not a purely modern invention. The ladies inside the zenana were undoubtedly placed beyond the gaze of artists, but it does not seem utterly impossible that they might have made some concession to artists for the sake of portraits. There is a very popular belief that artists were



Sir Henry Lawrence.

allowed to see the reflections of ladies on the surface of the water in a well through the door of an underground apartment which enabled the artists to draw portraits. The idea is more or less fascinating but hardly deserving of serious consideration; but there must be some essential truth at the root of this tradition. Be that as it may, we cannot get over the fact that likenesses of ladies were produced. Whether they were of royal ladies or those of concubines of princes is a matter for careful study. Even if they are portraits of concubines it does not become quite clear how they could be portrayed, for the concubines of royal princes would perhaps be as much in the zenana as the royal and other noble ladies. Then there are certain paintings which show a Moghal emperor, for instance Jehangir, with a lady wearing a royal crown. Such a portrait would apparently be not that of a concubine. A portrait like this must have been meant to be kept in the possession of the



Raja Sansar Chand.

emperor, and it does not appear at all plausible that artists could have taken the liberty of associating royal princes with dancing girls or concubines in their work. Besides the majority of the likenesses of ladies of the Moghal school are those of women who had a political career, such as Jodh Bai, Nur Jehan, Mamta Mahal, Zeb-un-Nissa, Chand Bibi and a few others. In their case at least, and particularly of

the Rajput princesses, it could be supposed that they suffered themselves to be painted. This need not necessarily suggest that artists had a free access to them. We know that Moghal ladies were fairly cultured. Some of them were poets. Princes learnt painting; could not princesses also learn it? Eunuchs had free access both to the zenana and outside, any of whom could have had some training in drawing. Artists could work from sketches made inside the zenana.* These are perhaps idle conjectures and they will remain so to historians and antiquarians, but they certainly have the merit of suggesting that more or less reliable portraits of royal ladies could be had even in case male artists had no direct access to them. It is difficult to say whether any internal evidence will ever be forthcoming to establish the authenticity of these portraits; but it must be said that the want of it should not underrate their value both as objects of historical interest and works of art. In the absence of other authentic portraits these ought to be accepted as genuine ones, more particularly when the doubt on their reliability is thrown by a foreigner whose know-

ledge of the country was essentially superficial and who, judging from the pictures he procured, was not competent to pass judgment on things of art. "Concubines" and "dancing girls" are very unfortunate expressions used by Manucci. They make the case of the portraits

* The Lahore Museum has an interesting portrait, said to be that of Nur Jehan, which has the unmistakable look of an amateur's work.

vulgar, undeserving of notice. But no one with the least artistic sensibility will admit that there is any vulgarity in any of the portraits believed to be those of royal Moghal ladies. None have the deliberate sensual delineation invariably found in the Delhi ivory miniatures of so-called Moghal princesses, which are most likely fancy pictures, but any of them can very well be the likeness of a prince's concubine.

In a matter like this when there is a dispute between art and history about an object of purely artistic merit, the judgment passed on an aesthetic basis should be absolute. A portrait is essentially a picture—a work of visual art. Its value as a likeness is not real; this value lasts for a limited number of years. As soon as a likeness outlives those who have a personal interest in the individual portrayed, it loses its value as a likeness but fully retains its value as a work of art. For instance, looking at a portrait of Akbar to-day, no one with any real artistic sensibility would seriously question whether Akbar had exactly the same features as shown in his likeness; but everyone is at liberty to criticise it as a work of art. So in an old portrait its interest as a likeness is almost nil. This is readily understood when we are face to face with a portrait which is neither inscribed nor are there any means of identifying it, and we cannot but appraise its value as a work of art. The portraits of ladies said to be those of the royal Moghal household have a similar significance. They are works of art first, portraits afterwards. The doubt about their authenticity should not minimise their importance and value both as records of the past and as works of art.

The Delhi ivory miniatures, which have some bearing on the Moghal school, have an uncertain history. They are undoubtedly of European origin and may have been introduced even as early as the time of Jehangir, if not earlier. European paintings found their way to Akbar's court and biblical and other paintings—particularly love scenes—belonging to the time of Akbar, Jehangir and Shah Jehan are in existence in which the influence of European paintings is distinctly visible. These pictures and some others, which appear to be copies of or adaptations from European paintings, do not show any deviation from the general tradition of the Moghal school. The ivory miniatures are

of a later period than these and do not show any influence of the old tradition. The inception of this school may have been derived from attempts to copy Moghal portraits on ivory, introducing some of the elements of European paintings, which eventually led to the production of a hybrid art having none of the good qualities of the Moghal school. Too much modelling is shown in most of these miniatures, and yet they are hopelessly wanting in the delineation of character. A deliberate attempt to make them look pretty and sensually beautiful render the miniatures vulgar and almost vicious. The Lucknow portraits are descended from the hybrid school of Delhi and are just as bad as the latter.

Portraits are quite common in the Rajput school and they bear a strong contrast against the Moghal school. This school has a peculiar history. It existed long before the birth of the Moghal school, and perhaps it was this school that interested Akbar, and eventually contributed largely towards the development of the Moghal school. The connection between the two schools has been very intimate and yet it appears that the individuality of the two was maintained even up to a very late period. Whatever influence the two schools had over each other, it was superficial. For instance, the inscribed portrait of Joshi Ji Nagarai by Bulaki, dated 1671, has not the characteristic features of the pure Rajput school; whereas the portrait of a man with a black shield belonging to late 18th century is distinctly Rajput. The portrait of Nur Jehan, on the other hand, shows the influence of both the schools. Portraits of this type are not so numerous as other subjective paintings of this kind which form a separate group. The earlier portraits of the Rajput school are severely conventional. The profile is the principal motif and the drapery—especially the head dress—is drawn with great care. Finished portraits are in local colours, but a large number of likenesses are met with in black out-lines on a thick coating of white—a motif peculiar to the Rajput school.* In many cases the face and head dress only are finished in local colours, the rest remaining white with black outlines. Couplets or verses in praise of the persons represented as well

* Unfinished Punjab hill portraits show a similar treatment, but the white is very thinly applied.

as the name of the artist are sometimes given on finished portraits. Group portraits in the Rajput school are not so common as in the Moghal school. Music parties or darbar scenes are the usual types of group portraits, but they are seldom inscribed.

The art of portraiture was very extensively practised by the painters in the Punjab hill states. The history of the Punjab school is obscure, but it is certainly of pre-Moghal existence. Actual pre-Moghal records are, however, wanting, but later records unmistakably prove the existence of a tradition of long standing. The influence of the Moghal school over the Punjab school was, if any, very slight. The earliest available portraits of the Punjab school show the Moghal dress, which was apparently adopted during the period; but the rest of the treatment was distinctly different from the Moghal school. In technique the Punjab school owes nothing to the Moghal school; on the other hand it looks very probable that the Moghal school owed much to the latter.

A large number of both inscribed and uninscribed likenesses come from Basohli, Chamba, Guler, Mandi, Kangra, Nurpur and other places. Each of these places had a school of its own having distinct characteristics. There is as much of difference between two works of two different places in the Punjab hills as there is between a Moghal and a Rajput painting. For instance the Basohli portrait of Bhanpat Pal* is quite different in technique and feeling from the Kangra portrait of Sansar Chand†. The portrait of a pundit belonging to the Basohli school has a fine deli-

neation of character. Another unidentified likeness of a prince—probably of Chamba—shows traces of the Rajput tradition. The Punjab school, comprising the different hill schools, has left very extensive records of great variety and, leaving out Ajanta, it is perhaps the most significant of all the schools of Indian painting.

The Sikh school is the unworthy descendant of the great Punjab school. Its life is as short as the ephemeral supremacy of the Sikhs. Portraiture being its chief pre-occupation it produced a large number of likenesses, a few of which are good, the rest being of mediocre quality. Ivory miniatures of this school are very poor. The school has hardly contributed anything which will endure and live as an integral part of Indian art.

The Sikh school shows the vitiation of the remnant of the indigenous tradition of Indian portraiture. Besides containing the portraits of Sikh chiefs and nobles, the school has a few queer studies of Europeans, chiefly military officers, who were in the Punjab during and after Ranjit Singh's time. Whatever interest they might have as likenesses, either actual or imaginary, they have no artistic value. The comic portrait of Sir Henry Lawrence* serves as an example showing the poverty of works of this type.

Here we have the last glimpse of the indigenous Indian tradition of portraiture and the beginning of the pseudo-European ideal which has been so very fruitful in uprooting the national tradition and grafting a perverted idea about art, and has proved so far by its existence to be capable only of denationalizing and demoralising the Indian mind.

* A very brave and powerful ruler of Basohli, flourished about 1598; was kept a prisoner in Delhi for nearly eight years.

† Ruler of Kangra; died in 1824.

* An exactly similar version and many other portraits of this type are in the Lahore museum.

SAMARENDRANATH GUPTA.

FURTHER EVIDENCE OF ANCIENT INDIAN TRADE WITH THE PERSIAN GULF

THOSE interested in the nature and extent of Indian trade in ancient days with the cities of Lower Mesopotamia and Western Persia will be glad to learn

that further evidence has been found corroborating the inferences already made.

When in Paris in 1913, I looked through

the antiquarian collections in the Louvre Museum on the chance of finding articles made from the Indian conch (the *Sankha Turbinella pirum*, Linn.). Greatly to my satisfaction I found quite a number, some of very high interest. The principal of these was a fine libation vessel numbered AOD 326, made from a fine sankha shell over 6 inches in length. One side of the shell had been sawn off longitudinally together with the whole of the central axis or columella, thereby transforming it into a spouted vessel admirably adapted for use in pouring out libations. No carving is present, but the exterior surface is smooth and was doubtless polished when in use. This object is one of those brought back by the Mission Dieulafoy from the ruins of Susa, and is attributed to the Achaemenid period (4th and 5th centuries B. C.). In the same case is a wedge-shaped ornament also made from the Indian conch. A small perforation exists towards the wider end, such as would be made were this to be used as a pendant hung from the neck or elsewhere. The surface is polished and it has evidently been cut longitudinally from the inflated mouth whorl of the conch. In yet another case containing objects brought from the same region by the Mission J. De Morgan is a sankha bangle labelled A 7532. It measures about 4 inches in largest diameter and is nearly 1 inch in width. The pattern is a simple one, the surface having been rubbed down from each margin to form an obtuse-angled ridge running down the middle of the exterior surface of the bangle. Probably this belongs to a much older period than the libation cup, as this expedition worked generally in older strata than the Dieulafoys. Finally in Room VI amongst the objects contained in the collection brought back by the Mission de Sarzec from the ruins of Tello, the ancient Lagash, in lower Mesopota-

mia, is a fragment of a plain wedge-pendant similar to that mentioned above, together with a series of other shell plaques elaborately engraved. In shape they are truncate wedges. The entire surface of the finest piece is occupied with a representation of a lion seizing a bull. All have a perforation at one side and measure about 1½ inch in length.

As I have not opportunity to complete the investigation of these exceedingly interesting objects, I have brought them to the notice of Dr. L. Germain of the Paris Natural History Museum, who has already published reports upon the shells brought back by one of the French Susa Expeditions to Persia. He has taken up the suggestion with enthusiasm and I am sure that the results of his detailed study of the objects will prove of great value in further elucidating the trade connection of India with the Assyrian and Persian Empires.

I must not omit to say that the geographical range of the Indian Conch, *Turbinella pirum*, is restricted wholly to India. Its distribution at the present day is bounded on the west by the Gulf of Kutch, while to the east it is not found beyond the Andaman Islands. Kathiawar, Travancore, the Gulf of Mannar, Palk Bay, the North of Ceylon, the Coromandal coast to some distance north of Madras, and the Andaman Islands are the only places where it exists. (For details, see "*The Sacred Chank of India*," Madras Government Press, 1914.) The shell is never found in the Persian Gulf or anywhere west of India. Hence the presumptive inference is conclusive that if found in Assyrian city sites, it must have reached there through the activity of trade agencies.

JAMES HORNELL,

[F.L.S., Government Marine Biologist].

INTERNATIONAL LAW IN ANCIENT INDIA

By S. V. VISWANATHA, M.A., L.T.

MAN is a warring animal, Hobbes said, and naturally as with individuals there is an innate tendency for the subjugation of one by another in the

struggle for existence, so with nations the prospects of material well-being and the desire for dominance over the rest appear to have brought on this tendency for war.

It is nothing out of the way to expect, bearing in mind the conditions that prevail among the 'civilised' nations of modern times when advanced notions of brotherhood and solidarity had been preached far and wide, that in the bygone millenniums amidst the variety and multitude of the nations in Ancient India warfare was an affair of not infrequent occurrence. The very hymn of the *Purushasukta* which has been utilised as explaining the origin of the four *Varnasramas* makes provision for a warrior caste and to die in righteous battle was the highest merit of a valorous Kshatriya.¹

The conception of war being an engine to destroy the heathen or barbarian which was a feature of the ancient Greeks and Romans is seen to operate in India also. The *Mahabharata*² says: "War was invented by Indra for destroying the Dasyus and bows, weapons and armour created for the same end. Hence merit is acquired by the destruction of the Dasyus." Who were the Dasyus? They were, as is clear to us from the *Rig Veda Samhita*, the non-Aryan aboriginal inhabitants of India who appear in contrast to the Aryas, and who were alien to them in colour, language, religion and social institutions. But this eagerness of the Aryas for the extirpation of the non-Aryan races extended to their fellow Aryas also. There are many a hymn³ in the *Rig Veda* which indicate the wrath of the Aryan bard not only against the Dasyus but against the Aryan opponents of his own tribe.

DEFINITION AND DESCRIPTION OF WARFARE.

Warfare युद्ध has been defined as the affair that two parties who have inimical relations with each other undertake by means of arms to satisfy their rival interests.⁴ It is that by which the enemy is opposed and subjugated.⁵ This definition contains in it some of the characteristic conditions of warfare in ancient India. It presupposes the existence of two *parties* inimical to each other. And it would appear that war was mostly an affair between state and state and not between the individuals. It is next an affair between

two parties who had been for some time hostile in their relations to each other. In this is probably implied the fact that warfare was resorted to only after acts of long continued hostility and the impossibility of coming to terms had necessitated the declaration of war. In fact the works of literature declare definitely that war should be resorted to only if all other expedients of bringing about peace have failed.⁶ War was not entered into precipitately but only after due deliberation of the past events and the conduct of the belligerent states which must have necessitated the breaking up of peaceful relations. The hostile relations between the belligerent communities must have been long standing. The next condition assumed in the definition is the use of arms. Here we are led to the distinction between कलह⁷ or ordinary quarrel and युद्ध. The use of weapons, arms and implements is a necessary condition of war. Lastly war implies a series of acts of hostility and not merely a condition. Probably the condition or attitude of warfare is denoted by the term विग्रह.

CLASSIFICATION OF WARFARE.

Warfare is classified according to the weapons by which it is conducted into Daivika, Asura, Manusha⁸ and into Prakasa, Kuta, and Tushni⁹ according to the methods of fighting resorted to.

Daivika is the variety in which charms and spells are used. This is chiefly spoken of in connection with the fights between the Devas and Asuras. This need not therefore engage our attention.

The Asura form is one in which mechanical instruments are used. Wherever engines of oppression causing sweeping destruction are used there is probably the Asura variety of warfare.

The Manusha kind is that in which weapons and hands are made use of. It is this variety of warfare with which we are most concerned.

Open warfare is conducted by threats, assaults and creation of confusion in the enemy ranks, at the right time and at the right place. This is the only kind of

1. E.g. Manusmriti, Chap. VII. vr. 87-89.
2. *Mahabharata*, Udyoga Parva; Sec. 29, vr. 30 and 31.

3. *Rig Veda*, VI. 33. 3, E. g.

4. *Sukraniti*, IV. 7. II. 438 & 439.

5. Do. IV. 7. 468 & 9.

6. *Mahabharata*; Santi Parva; Rajadharma 69. v. 24.

7. *Sukraniti*, IV. 7. 501.

8. Do. IV. 7. 440-1.

9. *Kautilya*: *Arthashastra*, VII. 6.

warfare properly so called. In the ordinary circumstances fighting was to be open, no underhand dealing or unfair play being allowed.

Treacherous warfare consists in keeping up good relations with the enemy while attacking at the same time. This method of fighting implies the use of guile and underhand methods. This kind of fighting is not recommended under ordinary conditions and is permitted in case of the weak against the strong and even here only in the last instance was it to be resorted to.

Silent warfare implies the attempt to win over the army and officers of the enemy by diplomatic means. This like the previous one is not approved of as being the right method to be pursued. But this form implies so much of diplomacy and skill, if successfully carried out.

REQUISITES OF SUCCESS IN WAR.

Some of the great requisites¹⁰ of successful fighting mentioned are heroic spirit and enthusiasm; superiority in strength, organised troops and weapons and forts; and skilful diplomacy. Kautilya¹¹ lays these down in the above order and in the ascending order of merit. He says: "An arrow shot by an archer may or may not kill a person; but the skilful diplomacy of a wise man kills even those yet unborn." Great importance is attached to the proper choice of officers, soldiers, places and methods of fighting in all the books of literature dealing with politics.

CHIVALRY AND HEROISM IN WAR.

Chivalry was a virtue and the Kshatriyas are praised for their valorous fighting in the battlefield. It was in fact enjoined on all of the fighting caste to engage in righteous war and meet a noble end. A Kshatriya was never to cease from battle¹² and his death in bed was a sin.¹³ A king who is defied by foes must not shrink from battle for it is the duty of all Kshatriyas to fight. He who valorously fights is sure to attain to heaven. A Kshatriya would in fact be lacking in the performance of his religious duty and he would not acquire religious merit if he

did not engage in battle.¹⁴ There is nothing more productive of good to the Kshatriya than to be engaged in righteous warfare even though it might lead to the destruction of one's own race, so says the Bhagavat Gita.¹⁵ There are, we note, only two classes of people who reach heaven—"the austere missionary and the man who is killed in the front of the fight."¹⁶ And for the warrior was reserved a place much higher than those places which Brahmans attain by performing sacrifices and which he, giving up his life for the right cause, reaches immediately after death.¹⁷

THE IDEAL IN WARFARE.

Once a warrior had entered the battlefield he was by no means to retreat or desist from fighting. Death rather than disgrace was his motto and "being in it (battle) the best way was to fight it through" as Lowell said. Not to turn from battle is one of the best means for a king to secure happiness and he who fights with utmost energy and does not retreat goes to heaven.¹⁸ The steps of those who when their ranks are broken do not turn back but fight on are like so many sacrifices.¹⁹ The rascal who flies from a fight reaches hell.²⁰ He who flies in terror from a field incurs the sin of killing a Brahman and the gods forsake such a vile coward.²¹ We read in the Mahabharata²²: "Let us swear to conquer and never to desert one another. Let only such men come who would never turn back from battle or cause their comrades to be slain. The consequences of fleeing away from battle are loss of wealth, infamy, and reproach. Those that flee are wretches among men. We should fight regardless of life or death and with this determination attain a place in heaven." He who deserted his comrades in the field or retreated after sustaining defeat was in fact allowed no place in society or family²³ life. We are told that so many

14. Santi Parva; Rajadharma; Sec. 60.

15. Bhagavatgita, E.g. ch. 2.

16. Sukraniti, IV. 7. 632.

17. Kautilya: Arthashastra, X. 3.

18. Sukraniti, IV. 7. 616-17.

19. Agni Purana, 232. 52-56.

20. Sukraniti, IV. 7. 656-7.

21. Agni Purana, *op. cit.*

22. Mahabharata; Santi; Rajadharma, 100; 39-41.

23. Sukraniti, IV. 7. 614-15.

10. & 11. Kautilya: Arthashastra, X. 6.

12. Baudhayana, I. 10, 18, 19. Manu, VII. 89.

13. Sukraniti, IV. 7. 608.

times the soldiers put themselves to death to avoid disgrace. As regards the king of the Maharashtra country Yuan Chwang²⁴ says: "Whenever a general is despatched on a warlike expedition although he is defeated and his army is destroyed, he is not himself subjected to bodily punishment, only he has to exchange his soldier's dress for that of a woman much to his shame and chagrin. So many times these men put themselves to death to avoid such disgrace."

RESORT TO WAR ONLY AFTER ALL OTHER EXPEDIENTS HAVE BEEN TRIED AND FAILED.

Winning victories in wars was glorious for the Kshatriya and to flee away from the field of battle was worse than death. Yet it has been repeatedly proclaimed that kings should resort to war only in the last instance. Only when there was no other remedy was war to be undertaken.²⁵ The king should win victories as far as possible without battles and victories achieved by battles are not spoken of highly by the wise.²⁶ Let the other expedients of *ज्ञान दान* and *भेद* be tried in turn and their failure alone may justify the employment of the last.²⁷ If the enemy could not be stopped by the first three let the king bring them to subjection using force alone, says the *Manusmriti*.²⁸ The ancient Indian statesmen knew that war entailed unnecessary waste of energy and resources and that considered from the material stand-point it did not produce good results in proportion to the magnitude of the loss it involved. "The results of war are uncertain."²⁹

Consequently it would appear, unnecessary and aggressive wars were not common in ancient India, and 'only in the cause that was righteous sweet (may) be the smell of powder.' The king was to abstain from all fruitless acts of hostility and he should never destroy his army by recklessly undertaking wars.³⁰ Wars

were not in general to be waged for mere assertion of material force and for territorial aggrandisement. 'Avoid war for acquisition of territory'³¹ appears to have been the principle followed by Yudhishtira.³² "Not too ambitious surely of conquest were the ancients seeing that in a small part of the earth there were numerous monarchs such as Bhagadatta, Dantavakra, Kratha, Karna, Kaurava, Sisupala, Salva, Jarasandha, and Sindhuraja. King Yudhishtira was easily content since he endured quite near at hand the kingdom of the Kimpurushas, when the conquest of Dhananjaya had made the earth to shake." Generally speaking, kings in ancient India did not engage in war unless they were forced to it and wars were undertaken not on unforeseen and on small causes but only after great deliberation and on sufficient grounds. So at least declare the works on Polity—*Arthasastras* and *Dharmasastras* alike.

CAUSES OF WAR.

What then were the grounds on which wars were begun in ancient India? In general, war was the result of injuries done by states to one another, and one should commence warfare when one is attacked and oppressed as the *Sukraniti* holds.³³ Mutual rivalry among the Aryas and non-Aryas formed the cause of the wars in the Vedic age. Acquisition of territory and desire for conquest formed other grounds for the opening of hostilities. A desire for self-preservation, the disturbance in the balances of power, and the thirst for realising the Imperial ideal appear as other causes of war especially in later ages. Many of the wars of the later times appear to have been due to lust of territory. Kautilya holds the view that 'the conqueror well versed in politics who acquires territory from enemies gains superiority.'³⁴ Other miscellaneous causes found to operate before the outbreak of war are the stealing of women, of cattle, etc. Lastly the spirit of dharma was carried to such an extent as to permit a king to wage war with another who being addicted to pleasure,

24. Yuan Chwang (Beal) Bk. IV.

25. Yajñavalkya *दृष्टव्यगतिः गतिः*, I. 346; *Sukraniti*, IV. 7. 505.

26. *Manu Smriti*, VII. 198.

27 & 28. Do. VII. 199, 200 and 201.

29. *Mahabharata* : *Santi* ; *Rajadharma*, 62. 16.

30. *Sukraniti*, V. 12; *Mahabharata* : *Santi* : *Raja*, 103.

31. *Mahabharata* : *Santi* : *Rajadh*, 69.

32. *Harsha Charita*, VII.

33. *Sukraniti*, IV. 7. 496 f.

34. *Arthasastra* of Kautilya, VII. 10 & 12.

plunders the people's goods and causes disaffection among his subjects.³⁵ This was made a fit ground of intervention.'

Thus the ideal of warfare in ancient India was not to engage in wars unless all other means of bringing about peace are forbidden, but when once on reasonable grounds war was begun, victory was to be achieved at all costs and death rather than disgrace was the motto of the heroic warrior who fought in the field.

KUTA-YUDDHA AND PRAKASA-YUDDHA.

The ideal was not by any means easy of realisation. The main object of the conqueror in engaging himself in war was to overcome the enemy and sometimes one had to 'place even disgrace in front and honour at the back and accomplish one's desired object, for it is folly to lose one's object.'³⁶ Such was the importance attached to victory in war that we even read 'the enemy has to be subdued in war whether fought according to the rules of morality or not.'³⁷ We find that instances were not altogether wanting of wars waged on other than reasonable grounds and where treachery and guile were now and then employed. The works of literature, specially the Arthasastras, make mention of a variety of warfare which was not fair and open—कूटयुद्ध.

The Dharmasastras are never for the use of any guile or underhand methods in warfare. Kuta-yuddha being dishonorable and unmoral does not find a place in them. The Arthasastras subordinate considerations of morality to those of expediency and practical gain. But even the latter class of works do not permit Kuta-yuddha in all cases and this procedure was certainly not fair and commendable. Kuta-yuddha is mentioned as being a provision for the weak against the powerful. The Sukraniti³⁸ says: 'There is no warfare which extirpates the powerful enemy like the Kuta-yuddha and one need follow *niti* or moral rules only so long as one is powerful enough to overcome others.' The Agni Purana permits secret and underhand harassing only by the weak against the strong.³⁹ Kamandaka,⁴⁰ who

follows Kautilya, also approves of Kuta-yuddha only by the weak king against his powerful opponent.

Thus if Kuta-yuddha was resorted to it was not probably between states of equal strength and resources, but it was a way for the weak against the strong, for states which could find no other outside help and have by some means or other to maintain their existence in the midst of states strong and powerful. Even here, we read, the small states were to seek the protection of stronger ones for fighting against their mighty foes.⁴¹ A weak king was as far as possible not to persuade himself into battle. He should make treaties and avoid wars, enter into a treaty at least for the time being, waiting for an opportunity when he may reinforce himself and meet his foe in war. If no outside aid is forthcoming, or if in seeking the help of others there be suspicion of evil, the weak king has somehow to engage himself in the war⁴² and in that case it would appear Kuta-yuddha was justifiable.

We find again that the employment of guile is advised only against those that use it.⁴³ In the Pratijnayaugandharayana of Bhasa⁴⁴ we find that the minister of Udayana has recourse to guile to let his sovereign free. It was impossible to openly face king Pradyota in war, hence ruse had to be pitted against the ruse already employed by Pradyota's people. Udayana was captured by Pradyota's men with a guile corresponding to the Trojan horse trick. Yaugandharayana, the minister of Kausambi, dressed as a Buddhist monk, goes to Ujjain and fills the palace of Avanti with spies and secret agents and contrives a plan of escape for his sovereign. But the inevitable happens between Udayana and Vasavadatta, the princess of Avanti. The two fall in love and Yaugandharayana contrives somehow to set free the couple on an elephant by secret designs.

HOW FAR ARE THE ARTHASASTRAS MACHIAVELLIAN ?

It is because the Arthasastras subordinate considerations of morality to expediency and practical gain that the authors

35. Sukraniti, IV. 7. 498 f.

36, 37 & 38. Sukraniti, IV. 7. 732-3 ; 706 ; 725.

39. Agni Purana, 240. 16.

40. Arthasastra of Kautilya, X. 3.

बलविशिष्टः.....प्रकाशयुद्धं उपेयात्

विपर्यये शकटयुद्धं

41. Arthasastra of Kautilya, VII. 15.

42. Manusmriti, VII. 176.

43. Sukraniti, V. 130.

44. Triv. Sans Series,

of these works have been styled Indian Machiavellis.⁴⁵ The ideal of the Italian theorist, as will be clear from his own statement, was: "Although it is detestable in everything to use fraud, nevertheless in the conduct of war it is admirable and praiseworthy and he is commended who overcomes the foe by stratagem equally with him who overcomes him by force." This is by no means identical with that of the Indian writers mentioned above, for they would on no account give equal place to the कूट variety of warfare with the प्रज्ञा type. Even in the Arthasastras Kuta-yuddha occupies only a secondary and less honourable place. The Arthasastras naturally give more prominent attention to the acquisition of material welfare as the Dharmasastras do to the spiritual and moral laws of welfare. But this can only lead one to the conclusion, even applying the foreign epithet, that the Arthasastras are more Machiavellian than the Dharmasastras. It would not altogether warrant the opinion held that the Arthasastrakaras, Kautilya and Sukra for instance, are Indian Machiavellis. Let us not bring in comparisons from outside and thrust them in cases where they may not suitably apply.

On the other hand the point that has to be noted in this connection is that these secular writers disclose to us how far the theory proclaimed in the sacred works of literature corresponded to the practice that obtained in their respective ages.

45. See for example article on 'Ethics of Warfare in Ancient India' (*Ind. Rev. War Book*). The same idea is intended to be conveyed in note 2 to p. 235 of Sarkar's translation of the Sukraniti.

Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Ayyangar in his book on 'Ancient Indian Polity' indicates the points of agreement between Kautilya and Machiavelli. But the prominent difference between the two is that unlike Machiavelli 'Kautilya is a confirmed believer in the permanence of the moral order of the Universe.' P. 147.

There was no good proclaiming that a weak state should in its fight with a powerful neighbour follow exactly the same rules as were expected to be followed by the latter and that even he that is wicked should be subdued only by fair means.⁴⁶ We are reminded of the sad lot of Belgium in this connection. It was impossible for the weak, if left alone, under ordinary circumstances to overcome the more powerful.

GENERAL HUMANITY IN WARFARE.

Wars in ancient India were generally fought according to the rules of Dharma-yuddha. The works of literature proclaim that a king should never desire to subjugate countries by unrighteous means even if he might be made, as a result, the sovereign of the world.⁴⁷ The warrior was not to transgress his primeval law when he strikes his foe in battle.⁴⁸ A Kshatriya who destroys righteousness and transgresses all wholesome barriers does not deserve to be reckoned as such and society should drive him out.⁴⁹ The incidents of warfare in Ancient India were not so inhumane as in other countries of the world at the time as is clear from the accounts of foreign travellers. Megasthenes⁵⁰ bears testimony to the fact that the laws of war were humane and that wholesale destruction and devastation was forbidden. And we read in the Mahabharata.

"They must win who strong in virtue
fight for virtue's stainless laws,
Doubly armed the stalwart warrior
who is armed in righteous cause."

46. Mahabharata : Santi : Rajadh : Sec. 95.

47. Do. Sec. 96 ; 2-10.

48. Manusmriti, VII. vr. 87-93.

49. Sukraniti, IV. 7. 614-15.

50. Mc. Criundle: Megasthenes and Arrian. Frag. 1.

(Concluded.)

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Self-Determination

is the theme of a very thoughtful article appearing in *Arya* for September. After analysing liberty and democracy as it

meant in ancient Greece and as it means in modern States the writer gives us the following luminous exposition as to what he understands by the term self-determination.

The principle of self-determination really means this that within every living human creature, man, woman and child, and equally within every distinct human collectivity growing or grown, half developed or adult, there is a self, a being, which has the right to grow in its own way, to find itself, to make its life a full and a satisfied instrument and image of its being. This is the first principle which must contain and overtop all others; the rest is a question of conditions, means, expedients, accommodations, opportunities, capacities, limitations, none of which must be allowed to abrogate the sovereignty of the first essential principle.

There is the ideal which sets order first and liberty either nowhere or in an inferior category, because it is willing to accept any coercion of liberty which will maintain the mechanical stability of order; and there is the ideal which on the contrary sets liberty first and regards law either as a hostile compression or a temporarily necessary evil or at best a means of securing liberty by guarding against any violent and aggressive interference with it as between man and man. This use of law as a means of liberty may be advocated only in a minimum reducible to the just quantity necessary for its purpose, the individualistic idea of the matter, or raised to a maximum as in the socialistic idea that the largest sum of regulation will total up to or at least lead up to or secure the largest sum of freedom. We have continually too the most curious mixing up of the two ideas, as in the old-time claim of the capitalist to prevent the freedom of labour to organise so that the liberty of contract might be preserved, or in the singular sophistical contention of the Indian defenders of orthodox caste rigidity on its economical side that coercion of a man to follow his ancestral profession in disregard not only of his inclinations, but of his natural tendencies and aptitudes is a securing to the individual of his natural right, his freedom to follow his hereditary nature. We see a similar confusion of ideas in the claim of European statesmen to train Asiatic or African peoples to liberty, which means in fact to teach them in the beginning liberty, in the school of subjection and afterwards to compel them at each stage in the progress of a mechanical self-government to satisfy the tests and notions imposed on them by an alien being and consciousness instead of developing freely a type and law of their own. The right idea of self-determination makes a clean sweep of these confusions. It makes it clear that liberty should proceed by the development of the law of one's own being determined from within, evolving out of oneself and not determined from outside by the idea and will of another.

But it is from the self-determination of the free individual within the free collectivity in which he lives that we have to start, because so only can we be sure of a healthy growth of freedom and because too the unity to be arrived at is that of individuals growing freely towards perfection and not of human machines working in regulated unison or of souls suppressed, mutilated and cut into one or more fixed geometrical patterns. The moment we sincerely accept this idea, we have to travel altogether away from the old notion of the right of property of man in man which still lurks in the human mind where it does not possess it. The trail of this notion is all over our past, the right of property of the father over the child, of the man over the woman, of the ruler or the ruling class or power over the ruled, of the State over the individual. The child was in the ancient patriarchal idea the

live property of the father; he was his creation, his production, his own reproduction of himself; the father, rather than God or the universal Life or in place of God, stood as the author of the child's being; and the creator has every right over his creation, the producer over his manufacture. He had the right to make of him what he willed, and not what the being of the child really was within, to train and shape and cut him according to the parental ideas and rear him according to his own nature's deepest needs, to bind him to the paternal career or the career chosen by the parent and not that to which his nature and capacity and inclination pointed, to fix for him all the critical turning-points of his life even after he had reached maturity. In education the child was regarded not as a soul meant to grow, but as brute psychological stuff to be shaped into a fixed mould by the teacher. We have travelled to another conception of the child as a soul with a being, a nature and capacities of his own who must be helped to find them, to find himself, to grow into their maturity, into a fullness of physical and vital energy and the utmost breadth, depth, and height of his emotional, his intellectual and his spiritual being. So too the subjection of woman, the property of the man over the woman, was once an axiom of social life and has only in recent times been effectively challenged. So strong was or had become the instinct of this domination in the male animal man, that even religion and philosophy have had to sanction it, very much in that formula in which Milton expresses the height of masculine egoism, "He for God only, she for God in him,"—if not actually indeed for him in the place of God. This idea too is crumbling into the dust, though its remnants still cling to life by many strong tentacles of old legislation, continued instinct, persistence of traditional ideas; the fiat has gone out against it in the claim of woman to be regarded, she too, as a free individual being. The right of property of the rulers in the ruled has perished by the advance of liberty and democracy, in the form of national imperialism it still indeed persists, though more now by commercial greed than by the instinct of political domination, intellectually this form too of possessional egoism has received its death-blow, vitally it still endures. The right of property of the State in the individual which threatened to take the place of all these, has now had its real spiritual consequence thrown into relief by the lurid light of the war, and we may hope that its menace to human liberty will be diminished by this clearer knowledge.

Indian Art.

In the course of a short though valuable article contributed to the *Hindustan Review*, which deals with *Indian Art in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts*, A. K. Coomaraswamy, the pre-eminent art critic of India, gives us the following just and fair interpretation of Indian Art.

Indian art embraces the distinct traditions of Hinduism (Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina) and of Islam.

The subject matter of Hindu art is hieratic and epic. It does not aim at illustration or record. It is not an art of impressionism, representation or

self-expression, but abstract and anonymous. In primitive and classic phases it unites canonical form with swift serene gesture and tender feeling: in decadence it preserves an original grandeur of design, though the gesture is no longer felt, and the form is over-emphasized or over-ornamented. Hindu art is never interested in the mere appearances of things, but interprets them as symbols of general ideas. Moreover, the true work of art is not an object, but something which springs into being between the artist and the spectator and is due to the activity of both. In other words, the appreciation of art is not a question of taste or ethics, but of creative imagination. Without this the spectator, however well he knows what he likes or dislikes, may remain unmoved before the most beautiful work: with it he will understand the significance of the most awkward and primitive work, and the meaning of a great tradition will be recognized even in decadent examples.

An art of ideas cannot be judged by standards of verisimilitude: it must be approached as expression. There is no such thing as "accurate drawing," but that drawing is best (as Leonardo says) which best expresses the passion that animates the figure. We must look then for truth of feeling and movement, rather than for scientific knowledge of perspective and anatomy. To appreciate art in this way as expression, however, demands a knowledge of what is to be expressed—a knowledge which the contemporary artist is free to take for granted, but which the student of an unfamiliar art must either possess intuitively or take some pains to acquire. To appreciate anything more than the superficial charm of Hindu art, therefore, demands a certain study of the ideas it exists to express. These ideas, being primarily devotional and philosophical, are somewhat remote from the tendencies of modern life.

It should be observed that while Indian art can be classified as Brahmanical, Buddhist or Jaina, these are sectarian names, and not distinctions of style or period.

Early Buddhism could not and did not inspire an immediate expression through art. Developing into a cult, however, under Asoka (272-232 B. C.) Buddhism adapted popular Indian art to edifying ends: but the Buddha himself is represented only by symbols. A little later the growing spirit of devotion in the development of a popular religion led to the creation of anthropomorphic images as intermediary objects of worship. The typical Buddha figure, evolved already in the second century B. C., is that of a contemplative figure seated in the traditional Indian posture with crossed legs and steady gaze, "like a flame, in a windless spot that does not flicker:" this must have presented itself to the Indian imagination as the only possible form in which to image One who had attained to Perfect-Wisdom. Standing and reclining images were soon added, in which there are certain elements of Western origin. This Western (Graeco-Roman) element is most conspicuous in the abundant Buddhist art (1st to 3rd century A. D.) of the Gandhara provinces of the North-West frontier. The purely Indian types are characteristic of the south and of Ceylon.

Rajput painting is the Hindu art of Rajputana and the Punjab Himalayas of which surviving examples range from the 16th to the 19th century. This is a descendant of the old linear, and national school of mural art represented at Ajanta, but greatly modified in theme and scale. Its subjects are drawn

from epic and contemporary vernacular poetry and Brahmanical theology: but most characteristically perhaps from the cult of Radha and Krishna, where human love in all its phases is interpreted as an image of the history of the soul of man (typified in Radha and the other milkmaids of an Indian Arcadia) pursued by the divine lover (Krishna, the herdsman avatar of Vishnu). These themes afford the artist and poet, whose work is so closely related as to be hardly separable, with abundant material drawn from essentially Indian life—the home, the village, the cowsheds, ritual, riverside, and spring festivals: all which is interpreted in the sense of a spiritual drama. Perhaps the most attractive example of the idyllic art is a picture of Krishna disguised as milkmaid—one of the many devices he employed to effect his meeting with Radha, "making Himself as we are that we may be as He is." Even the smallest of the Rajput drawings are designed on the broad scale of mural art, almost devoid of modelling; while the actual relation to mural painting, which is the real foundation of Rajput art, is still more evident in the large cartoons of Radha and Krishna dancing. A series of illustrations of the Marriage of Nala and Damayanti exhibits the wonderful charm of sweetness that never becomes sentimental. Another favourite theme of Rajput art is the *Ragmala* or Garland of Musical Modes (the "Ragas" and "Raginis").

Mughal painting (formerly called Indo-Persian), although unmistakably and definitely Indian, derives to some extent from Persian traditions. It forms a brilliant episode in the history of Indian art, though it diverges from Hindu sentiment in as much as it is definitely and exclusively secular and realistic, interested in the study of individual character and the representation of contemporary events. In these respects it resembles the late Renaissance art of Europe, rather than any purely Asiatic art. It owes its existence entirely to the patronage of the Mughal emperors (the "Great Moguls") and especially Akbar (1556-1605) and Jahangir (1605-1628), both of whom gave lavish encouragement to court painters. It is eclectic, and combines Persian, Indian, European and even Chinese elements. Under Akbar it is still strongly influenced by the Persian school of Bihzad: it attains its most characteristic development and fullest strength under Jahangir—becoming overripe in the time of Shah Jahan and declining under Aurangzeb. It differs from Persian painting (which was already decadent in the 17th century) in that it is, although still associated with calligraphy, far less definitely an art of book illumination than Persian art; it differs, too, in its greater actuality and its representation, no longer of epic themes, but of "what we have ourselves seen and heard."

The Transmutation of Money.

In an excellent article appearing in *East and West* for September H. L. S. Wilkinson discusses the economic effects of the war and points out the re-adjustment of money that must follow in order to save the world from utter bankruptcy. The writer discusses his subject with a free and unprejudiced mind, and his conclusions are rational and humane just as they should be. We draw the serious attention of our readers to the following extracts:

The longer the war lasts, and the bigger the war-bill becomes, the more clearly loom forth two conclusions :—

First, that no economist of the orthodox schools has any idea how the huge bill is to be paid,

Second, that the one and only way to pay the bill will be to abolish the private ownership of money and of all important industries and enterprises.

Private ownership of anything which belongs to the life of the nation as a whole, and without which that life is restricted and interfered with, is manifestly and axiomatically wrong. Articles of general need, or of national use, must be sold at a fixed price by the State, and the monopoly of the supply of such articles must be removed forever from private hands.

(The day of the domination of the capitalist is over, and the hawking of stocks and shares will, sooner or later, die a natural death of inanition, paralysed by the war's colossal taxation of capital.)

People who say that money is not really disappearing, as it still remains within the pockets of the war workers, are deluding themselves with a false idea of what money is. Money which will not move is as valueless as a railway wagon which lies for ever on a siding. Money only has value when it has the power movement. In this respect it is like energy. Money which is paralysed by an exorbitant or impossible tax will not move. It will have lost its potential. Money is kept moving now by the illusory credit of the British Government. That credit will last just so long as the Government asserts its rights over capital. But the moment the capitalist asserts his counter-claims that credit will disappear into thin air, and with it will disappear the movement of capital itself.

The nationalisation of capital must take place along with the nationalisation of all the other needs of the nation, such as land, food, coal, railways, gas and electricity, shipping, implements of war, drugs, stimulants, and so on. All existing rights in these articles must be purchased by the State, and all future enterprises undertaken by the State after careful estimate by State officials of their financial soundness.

For a fixed unvarying sum per mile of railway, or per kilowatt of electricity, any one should at all times be able to command the service of railway travel or electric power, and similarly any one should at times be able to command the services of capital at a fixed rate of interest. No one should have the right to restrict the natural flow of money by withholding capital, nor to force up the price of money, nor should any one be allowed to compete for its service by offering more than the national rate of interest. Joint stock enterprise might or might not be allowed to continue, but if allowed, it could only be within State control, and subject to State purchase after a fixed term of years. But probably joint stock enterprise shorn of the hope of extravagant profits (for all such profits should be annexed by the State), would languish, and a good thing too! And with it would go all the machinery of credit which in spite of its seeming help to business, is really an unmixt evil from a national point of view. And with this false fabric of credit, luxury, gambling and parasitism in all its various forms would disappear, and Society would re-organise itself on a healthy cash basis.

All this will come about naturally as soon as the world wakes up to the fact that the private ownership of the means of exchange, now held by banks, is wrong, just as the private ownership of natural

sources of energy, or of human labour, is wrong, bringing as it does wealth to a few at the expense of much greater loss to the nation as a whole.

The curse, which has strangled the life of the world hitherto, has been the private ownership of capital. The labour of honest men has been preyed upon by financial betting rings, sharks and parasites, who have played see-saw with prices for their own ends, until legitimate buying and selling has become impossible.

The longer the war lasts, and the bigger the bill grows, the more certain the doom of capitalism becomes! Not all the resources of the British Empire will suffice to create the wealth which will pay the interest on eight or ten thousand millions, which will be the amount of our debt when we have finally cleared up the mess, disbanded the armies, pensioned widows and orphans, provided for the cripples, and re-started the industries, if those industries are to be made over to the greedy hands of capital. The mere promise to hand them back would bring the nation face to face with bankruptcy in a week! Steam for the ship of State could not be got up. Motive power would be wanting and if applied by force strikes, bloodshed, and civil war would be substituted for international carnage.

In one way, and in one way only, will the potential energy of money be restored. When capital bears the burden which it is now evading and shirking, then the tide will turn, and the nation will realise the true path of duty. A large share of the war-bill will possibly be voluntarily written off by those who can most afford to bear the loss. Interest on war-stock promised when the loan was raised will doubtless be paid, but interest afterwards will be fixed at pre-war rates. The nation will gradually learn the limits within which private gain is a good thing, and beyond which it becomes a crime. Above all it will be felt that the first duty is to the workers, to those who suffered hardship and misery owing to wrong conditions of life before the war. Never more must they be allowed to want the primary necessities of life, clothing, shelter, honest work free from fear and care, education, leisure and the pleasures of art and love—in fact the full scope to develop naturally and freely to the utmost that nature intends.

This will mean the abolition of all slums and sweating dens, and the nationalisation of the land, and will be a gigantic task. But nothing will be impossible to the nation when it has once made up its mind that the old conditions are horrible, monstrous and obscene, and are not to be suffered for an instant longer than can be helped. And such an awakening of the nation's conscience is inevitable, once this war is finished.

Once the accursed incubus of greed and gain is removed from our own home-land, it will be removed from the uttermost bounds of the Empire as well. Freedom will not tolerate anything but itself anywhere within the limits of Britain's sway. The new life of Brotherhood will burst asunder all bonds of colour or creed, and the new generation of Britons will laugh to think that their fathers could have tolerated such futile and antiquated pretence and snobbery.

The ferment of this new life will penetrate India too, and she will awaken from her long sleep, and destroy her prison of caste and sex-domination and the iniquitous tyranny of the money-lender.

The Secret of a Literary Education.

P. R. Krishnaswami points out the way which leads to the attainment of a literary education in the pages of the *Indian Education* for September. This is what he says:

A literary course is different from a course in every other branch of knowledge in that it is more or less an indefinite sphere of knowledge. Speaking comparatively, while there is for all only one method of progressing in other branches of knowledge, in literature alone is it possible for the individual to have his own peculiar path of progress. Literature is the noble expression of ideas, feelings and moods, and these are of endless range. Entrance into the realm of literature can be effected successfully only when the student finds adequately reflected some idea, feeling or mood with which he is in sympathy because it is in some measure also his own. The pursuit of literature is painful only till individual taste is gratified and after that progress is pleasant and easy. Every man possesses in himself a latent susceptibility to the beauties of literature and in varying degrees even a power of literary expression. But it needs a congenial spark to light it, and this is not forthcoming in the case of many.

One fatal error in imparting a literary education is the emphasis of literary form at the expense of a rich development and acquisition of ideas by the youthful mind. The first requisite in a literary education is the provision of freedom of study and to a certain extent of pursuits. Such freedom must of course include facilities for contact with learned and intelligent teachers of diverse habit of mind and more especially with libraries well equipped with the largest variety of the best books.

It will be perceived that many of them did not attain to their literary greatness by following faithfully and rigidly any professedly educational course. Chaucer became a page in the royal household when he was seventeen. Shakespeare left school at thirteen to assist his father in trade. Ben Jonson was never at college. He started as a bricklayer, became a soldier and was cast adrift in the streets of London. Milton, it is true, was subjected to a most careful and complete course of education at home, school and college, but he achieved a greatness very different from what his father had designed for him. Bunyan had only an elementary education, even the learning of which he forgot later. The education of Pope was most peculiar. Never inside the regular educational system of England, he was a self-taught poet and his method of reading was, in his own words, "like a boy gathering flowers in the fields just as they fell in his way." We learn again that Swift was a rebel at school and college and neglected his studies. In the

case of Dr. Johnson it is recorded that the best portion of his learning which contributed to his literary greatness was acquired in the two years he spent at home after leaving school and before entering the university. The story of his looking for apples on one of his father's shelves and lighting on a folio volume of Petrarch is very well known in literature. Goldsmith and Burns had no regular education at all. Wordsworth disliked the discipline and paid no attention to the prescribed courses at Cambridge.

We may add here the name of Rabindranath Tagore for whom schools had no charm. He was educated mostly at home by varied and prolific self-studies.

An essential element of a literary education is an abundant stock of learning put by, implying a long and familiar acquaintance with innumerable works of literature. In the effort to obtain a mastery of literary expression there is nothing so useful as having known varieties of concepts conveyed in varieties of literary expression. The reading habit is precious in a literary education and this reading habit is best promoted by freedom of choice of the course of study. That is why literature is frequently and appropriately termed a 'common' and literary readers are those who browse upon it at will. In literature more often than anywhere else a rigorous routine is very harmful, destroying in the youthful mind all the attraction of literary pursuits. One boy is delighted to read a tale of real life, another a romance, a third loves a lyric, a fourth a drama and others still an essay or a biography. If the ideas in a particular prescribed work make no appeal to a boy's mind, as often they do not, there is nothing harder and more wasteful than forcing him to it, and what is worse, preventing him from making a more congenial choice for his study.

Apart from extensive reading there are two other conditions of success in a literary education. All the greatest writers of literature were men who were deeply interested in the *doings and feelings* of their life. It would be hard to indicate the influences which may be brought to bear upon a boy in order to stimulate the *doing* aspect of his life. But it may perhaps be noted that a dull secluded, boarding-school life does not provide a boy with the same opportunities as close contact with the domestic and communal life of his people. Next to *doing* comes *feeling*. A necessary factor in a literary life is an intense self-consciousness or at any rate a keen sensibility to all the things of the world that surround a man. This keen susceptibility ought to be so far developed as to make the impulse to literary expression irresistible.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

American Literature.

Out here in India the student of literature has very scanty, if any, knowledge of American literature, past or present.

Anything which tends to give us a fuller and truer knowledge of the growth and the fine products of American literature is, therefore, most welcome. The article

under review, which appears in the *Saturday Review* partly serves this purpose. Those of our readers who want to have fuller information on the subject are referred to *A History of American Literature*. [Edited by W. P. Trent, T. Erskine, S. P. Sherman, and C. Van Doren. Vol. I. Cambridge University Press, 15s net.] We read :

The early national literature of the United States begins under new influences. Up to the Revolution, intercourse with Europe, so far as literature was concerned, was of a very limited nature. Addison and Steele were the models which writing in America proposed to itself, long after essay writing was extinct here, and poetry was as belated in its acceptance of new forms and impulses, while the drama, though very sensitive in recording the life around it, did not produce anything worth preserving before the Civil War, though several American plays were transferred to London with some success. The new influences were those of revolution on religion, and of the Romantic Revival on letters.

As religion was the one intellectual interest of provincial America, and the Bible its main reading, it was in religious experimental thought that the intellect found its most congenial exercise. Thus a world-wide movement found a peculiarly favorable forcing ground in New England. Alcott, Parker, and Margaret Fuller, and in a wider sense, Emerson, the greatest name in the American literature of the nineteenth century, are names of European reputation. The Romantic Revival, with Scott as its protagonist moulded imaginative literature in prose and verse. Longfellow and his contemporaries apart, the output of verse is small, and its quality mediocre. Bryant is the only verse writer of any account, and, though he has lines of haunting beauty, they are side by side with lines so unmusical as

... Why so slow,
Gentle and voluble spirit of the air?

In prose Washington Irving, Fenimore Cooper, and Herman Melville are authors of European fame, the charm of whose writing, in their various degrees, never fails. Irving was, in fact, the first American writer to win a public outside his own country, first because of his subject matter, which won him a hearing not only in England but on the Continent but, still more for the graceful suavity of his style and the whimsical turn of his mind. Cooper has attained distinction in two directions, he has written perhaps the finest Indian stories in literature, and the best sea stories in the world, free from the excesses which deprive Marryat of that honor, and not equaled by any later writer. His stories of American domestic life are marred by an undertone of controversy, and his novels of European society are almost beneath contempt. Herman Melville stands in a class by himself, allied on the one hand to Borrow, on the other to Laurence Oliphant. *Moby Dick*, though no one could speak of it as one of the great stories of the world, would hardly be given up for any other book of its size. *Omoo* and *Typee* are universal favorites: but some of his other works, such as *Mardi* or *The Confidence Man*, are whimsicality carried to the verge of impossibility.

A Child's Poems.

The *Liberator* publishes a bunch of poems from the pen of Elsie Stackhouse, the daughter of the English explorer Stackhouse, who was lost on the *Lusitania*. She is, we are told, only fourteen years old. We like the following verses best.

MY GARDEN.

E'en if I were in Heaven, I again
Would come to see my garden after rain,
And smell the warm, wet mould beneath the grass,
And see the butterflies pass and pass
From flowers to grass and back again to flowers,
And all the things in England after showers.

WISHES.

Oh to be something else than I am—
(Bread and jam, bread and jam!)

Oh to know something else than I know—
(Lawns to mow, lawns to mow!)

Oh to love someone else than I do—
(I love you, I love you!)

Recognize Russia.

Writing under the above title in the pages of the *Liberator* (New York) John Reed has a good word for the Bolsheviks, whose government is based, we are told, "on the almost universal will of the Russian masses." The writer pleads for the recognition of the Soviets by the Allies on the following grounds.

The saving of Russia was the Bolshevik revolution. If that had not happened, the German army would now be garrisoning Moscow and Petrograd.

At Brest the Russians were not supported by the Allies, and for that reason were forced to accept the German terms. Not only that, but they are wholly abandoned now, and by the pressure of Japan in Siberia, greatly weakened in the heroic struggle they are carrying on against the armed might of the Central Powers.

For the Russian Soviet Government is at war with Germany—has been at war with Germany since last summer. It stands to reason that this is so. The Soviet ruling powers are Socialists, and as such, enemies of capitalism, and most of all, enemies of the German Imperial system, the arch-enemy of militant capitalism. They have been fighting Germany with the strongest weapon in the world—propaganda—the only weapon against which the sword is ultimately powerless. This propaganda, not only among the German troops, but also in the interior of the country, is remarkably successful. Austria is ready to crack open because of it, and during the Brest-Litovsk negotiations the entire eastern front of the German troops was permeated with it to such an extent that the invading force into Russia had to be made up largely of volunteers from western front. As for the war-prisoners in Russia, they are deeply infected by Bolshevism, and many thousands of them are enrolled in the ranks of the Russian Red Army against their own peoples,

The Red Army is rapidly being organized—as Lenin says, “not for defense of nationalistic interests, or Allied aims . . . but to defend the world’s Socialism.”

The latest moves of German diplomacy indicate that the Imperial Government is not at all anxious to attempt the military invasion of Soviet Russia.

But just as the Soviet Government considers the German Imperial Government its worst enemy, so Germany well knows that Soviet Russia on her flank is mortal to her military autocracy. By every means, by commercial and financial pressure, by capturing the food-supplying countries of the South, Germany is attempting to destroy the Soviets. At the time of the advance into Russia, Prince Leopold of Bavaria, in an army order, said, “Our aim is not annexation . . . but the restoration of order and suppression of anarchy threatening to infect Europe.” And if this “restoration of order and suppression of anarchy” can be accomplished by Japanese intervention, so much the better for Germany. For Germany fears not military force; she fears not a Japanese army in Siberia, nor a bourgeois republic in Russia—whose power of propaganda among German

troops would be as limited as that of the French Republic. Soviet propaganda, incredibly contagious, is the only thing that Germany fears. Allied recognition of the value of Soviet propaganda would be a blow at Germany.

The Soviet Government of Russia is there to stay; it is based on the almost universal will of the Russian masses. At the present moment it is being attacked on one side by the Germans, and on the other side by all sorts of bourgeois and reactionary movements based on the Japanese in Siberia. The threat of active, serious Japanese intervention, besides, hangs over it like a storm-cloud. When Central Russia was famine-stricken in the past, food could be got either in Ukraine or in Siberia. Now the Germans have Ukraine, and counter-revolutionary hordes are over-running Siberia. Russia is being starved from both sides. Its ability to make war on Germany is crippled by this and by the possible necessity of making war upon Japan.

Soviet Russia will not re-enter the war as an ally of the Allies; it will defend itself against the capitalist world.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

THE TREASURE OF THE MAGI: A STUDY OF THE MODERN ZOROASTRIANISM by James Hope Moulton, D. Litt. (London), etc. etc. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1917.

To those who are interested in Zoroastrianism the name of Dr. Moulton, the author of the “Early Zoroastrianism” (Hibbert Lectures for 1912), is not a new one. He is reputed for his writings on this subject. The account of his unfortunate death as related in the foreword is really very pathetic and it is to be much regretted that he could not survive to see his present volume in printed form. His present work is divided into two books, in the first of which the author after describing in some detail the contents of the Avesta, has traced the gradual development of the religion preached by Zarathustra during the various periods of its history, beginning from the Gathas to the later Avesta; and in the second, he has criticised the religion and the modern community of the Parsis in their various aspects as Dr. Dhalla has done in the last chapters of his excellent work “The Zoroastrian Theology” though from different point of view in many cases. The book under review forms one of the volumes of the *Religious Quest of India Series* edited by Drs. J. N. Farquhar and H. D. Griswold, who have very frankly and clearly stated at the very outset the two motives by which the writers of the series are governed in their work. One of these two motives is as follows in the words of the editors; “They seek to set each form of Indian religion by the side of Christianity in such a way that the relationship may stand out clear. Jesus Christ has become to them the light of all their seeing and they believe Him destined to be the light of the world. They are persuaded that sooner or later, there age-long quest

of Indian spirit for religious truth and power will find in Him at once its goal and a new startling print.” And so Dr. Moulton concludes his present work with the following observation: “Parsis themselves being witness, the possession of a high ideal of religion in the Gathas has not availed to make them a religious people.” And they have been found not to have resented “the Christian speaker’s (Dr. Moulton’s) plea that their own Prophet and the act of their own Magi in the olden time point unmistakably to Christ as the Crown of their ancient faith.” Thus according to him “the conspicuous failure” of their religion “speaks eloquently of the supreme need of man” and evidently, that man is no other than Christ! Yet there are many things in the book which the Parsis should take into their serious consideration.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

A HISTORY OF THE MARATHA PEOPLE Vol. I. From the Earliest Times to the Death of Shivaji, by C. A. Kincaid, C. V. O., I. C. S., and Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis. Demy 8vo. pp. 302. With illustrations and maps. Cloth Rs. 7. (Oxford University Press).

To study the history of the Marhattas one had to go to the scarce and antiquated volumes of Grant Duff published nearly a century ago. Remarkable as it is that work is marred by all the defects and blemishes that characterise every pioneer work. Mr. Ranade’s attempt was brilliant but fragmentary and tantalising. It was reserved for the collaborators in the volume under review, to present, for the first time, a complete history of the Marhattas who played such an important part in that epoch of transition from the Mediaeval to the Modern history

of India. The genuine historic intuition of patriotic Ranade has supplied the keynote to the present reconstruction of Marhatta history. The "unrivalled collection of Marhatta papers" by Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis, has supplied a wealth of fresh materials. Hence we get for the first time a work at once thorough in its survey, penetrating in its critical insight and elevating in its noble inspiration. What is needed to make the work a useful handbook for scholars is the publication of a source-book of the history of the Marhattas, with the important original documents both from the Moslem and Marhatta archives carefully edited so that sober students of history might study the subject critically and form their opinions independently. As it is, the history is both instructive and illuminating for general readers, from the rise of the Bhoslas (ch. xii) to the death of Sivaji the great (ch. xxiii). The earlier chapters, where the authors are merely summarising the results of the works of other scholars, are halting, conventional and lacking in freshness of vision and interpretation. A separate chapter, describing and discussing in detail Sivaji's noble polity, illustrating the constructive statesmanship of the great king, would also have been welcomed by every student of Indian history.

WARREN HASTINGS IN BENGLA 1772-1774, by M. E. Monckton-Jones. With appendixes of hitherto unpublished documents. Volume IX. 1918. 8vo. (9 x 6). Pp. XVI + 360, with two portraits and a map. 12s. 6d. net. (Oxford University Press).

The world of controversy raging round the figure of Warren Hastings lends a sort of a legendary charm to the personality of the first Governor of Bengal. Carefully careless selection of state papers, palpably partizan pamphlets and "made to order" biographies have combined with occasional studies in genuine historical criticism to produce impressions at once curious and conflicting: "Hastings, a demon or a demi-god?"—that was the subject for discussion in the debating society of Anglo-Indian critics for a long period of time. Then came a period of pseudo-scientific presentation of Hastings' history and the parading of 'state papers' explaining away every miscalculation and misconduct of Hastings. Thus the very humanity of this highly human merchant-governor has been explained away!

This human side of Hastings, with all his strength and imperfections, has been sought to be depicted by Mr. Jones in his valuable monograph. The extremely human struggle of Hastings with the vulgar opportunism and planless, heartless exploitation of his English contemporaries has been vividly described. His constructive statesmanship in reorganising the Revenue and Judicial administration, his genuine sympathy for the poor persecuted peasants and his firm faith in the capacity and potentiality of the native population—these, according to the author, were the distinguishing marks of Hastings, the Empire-builder. The enthusiasm of the author in the subject is genuine and his interpretation refreshing. Had he but surrendered the orthodox Anglo-Indian theory of infallibility, his study would have been more sound and complete from the standpoint of sober history.

KALHAN.

THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE HINDUS.

(i) Volume xvii. Part i. Matsya Puranam. Chapters 1-128 pp. xv + 360 + cvi. (Nos. 79-84. January to June 1916).

(ii) Volume xvii. Part ii. Matsya Puranam. Chapters 129-198. pp. 200. (Nos. 88-90. Oct. to December 1916). Price Rs. 4-8.

(iii) Volume xvii. Part ii. Matsya Puranam. Chapters 199-291 (Nos. 91-93. January to March 1917.) Pp. 201-370 + xvii. Price Rs. 4-8.

The whole book has been translated by a learned Talukdar of Oudh. The translation is very close to the original.

The first part of this book was reviewed in the Modern Review of October, 1916 (p. 435).

The book is an important publication. It is one of the oldest Puranas and should be studied by the students of comparative mythology, sociology, Folklore and religions. There are ten appendices (106 pages) in the book. These are very learned and valuable and are indispensable to students of the Puranas.

MAHESHCHANDRA GHOSH.

BENGALI.

I have read with pleasure Mr. Surendranath Das Gupta's *Tattvakatha*, a Bengali brochure which seeks to give, in simple Bengali, some idea of the quest of Truth, as it was conceived from the standpoint of Hindu Philosophy,—in the fashion of the People's Books that are in vogue in English and other occidental literatures. The brochure is written in an easy conversational style, which however has a verve and glow of its own. To interest the man in the street in abstract speculation must seem to be a well-nigh hopeless task, but Mr. Das Gupta has succeeded in divesting himself of all technicalities, and this little book is an indication of what might be done in Bengali literature in the way of an elementary literary treatment of philosophic ideas and problems. I may express a hope that the writer will pursue his experiments in this line, which is a highly interesting, and promising one.

BRJENDRANATH SEAL.

GUJARATI.

JNATI SUDHARNA (જાતિ-સુધારણા), by Shirdas Champay Bhimji and Liladhar Hariram Bhimji, of Cutch Netra, printed at Lady Northcole Hindu Orphanage K. N. Sailor Press, Bombay. Paper Cover pp. 108. Unpriced (1918).

The writers of this small book hail from Cutch and belong to a community known for its orthodoxy. The evils of the caste system, however, have so prominently been impressed upon them that they have been moved to put down their thoughts on paper, and the book deserves to be read more for the spirit it typifies than for anything else. We are sure the racy language in which they have exposed social evils would help their object most.

PRANAYA MANJARI: PREM GITA પ્રણય મંજરી : પ્રેમ ગીતા by Padrakar, printed at the Sayaji Vijaya Press, Baroda. Illustrated Paper Cover pp. 21. Unpriced (1918).

This dainty little book is in its get-up in keeping with the subject that it has rhapsodized: "Love is God: God is Love." This is the young versifier's text: and he has let himself go unrestrainedly. Love (પ્રેમ) is made to do duty in every stanza of this book of verses; and not everywhere successfully.

STRIVONI RANGBHUMI (श्रीश्रीनो रंगभूमि) by *Mani-lal Chhaharam Bhatt*, printed at the *Granthodaya Press, Ahmedabad*. Cloth bound, pp. 306. Price *Rs. 1-8-0* (1918).

The practised pen of Mr. Bhatt has clothed a very trite subject with great interest on account of the way in which he has approached it. The great necessity of educating our women and the real field of their work are so vividly impressed by him on the mind of the reader, and so pleasantly too, that if the readers happen to be women, they are sure to take the lessons conveyed to them to heart. Bombay life, as passed in its *Chawls* and *Malas* by its hundreds of female inhabitants is capable of being diverted into useful channels, and the writer shews one of the ways in which it can be done.

MANAV SHASTRA SERIES NO. 1. (मानव शास्त्र वीरीस : सखक विद्याना सामान्य विद्वान्) by *Girdhar-lal Govindji Mehta*, printed at the *Vidyasagar Press, Jamnagar*. Paper Cover pp. 16. Price *As. 4.* (1917).

By intense study and practice Mr. G. J. Mehta has specially qualified himself to write on the subject of Phrenology. This small pamphlet is but introductory of his larger work on Phrenology, which is yet unsurpassed in Gujarati. To those who are interested in the subject, no better guide can be had, in our language.

K. M. J.

SANSKRIT.

SANSKRIT RAJMARGA OR THE ROYAL ROAD TO SANSKRIT GRAMMAR VOL. I by *Mr. Rajaram R. Shastri*. Pages 94. Price *as 10.*

This is a companion reader to Bhandarkar's Sanskrit series. Whatever the merits of Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's two Sanskrit Books used as text-books in most of the Government High Schools in the Bombay Presidency may be, the grave defects they possess are (1) that they convey instruction to beginners of Sanskrit Grammar through the medium of English, which is as new to the learners as Sanskrit. The result is that students understand neither language and mostly rely on memory in learning rules of grammar without understanding their meaning or application. (2) Too many details are given about the changes the words undergo in their formation, so that even teachers pity the lot of boys whose power of retention is thereby unnecessarily taxed. Neither of these defects is cured by the book under review which professes to having made the way of the learner. If memory has to be taxed any way, why not in the name of Heaven tax it in learning by rote ready-made forms of Sanskrit words rather than in learning their formations? Considered from this practical point of view the book cannot be said to be a success.

V. G. APTE.

MARATHI.

SWAMI VIVEKANAND YANCHI CHARITRA OR THE LIFE OF SWAMI VIVEKANAND, VOL. V by the late *Mr. B. V. Phadke*. Price *14 as.* Publisher—*Ram Tirtha Karyalaya, Girgaon, Bombay.*

The fourth volume of this series was noticed in

this Review last year. The present volume has a melancholy interest for its readers in as much as its author Mr. Phadke, a promising Marathi writer and devoted admirer of Swamiji, died lately, leaving the work of completion to his friend Mr. Mandlik, who has closely followed the line laid down by his departed friend. The work is a creditable performance.

SAJJANGAD AND SAMARTHA RAMDAS by *Mr. G. C. Bhate, M. A., Professor Fergusson College, Poona*. Pages 127. Price *12 as.*

It is an interesting and thoughtful publication. It consists of three parts, the first of which is devoted to the description of interesting experiences of the author in his trip on *bike* to the historic place, Sajjangad, sanctified by the residence of the Saint Ramdas. The second part of the book gives a succinct summary, with profuse quotations, of the Saints' immortal *Dasabodh*, and the third part which is of a controversial nature refutes one long-prevalent belief about the relation between Ramdas and Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha Empire. It is believed by the generality of Marathi readers that the inspiration for founding the Maratha Empire came to Shivaji from Ramdas, and assiduous attempts have been made by certain writers to instil and confirm this belief without having any undoubted proof of historical document in its support. Prof. Bhate has assailed their position with boldness from the vantage ground of a newly discovered letter written in 1672 which unmistakably proves that Shivaji had the first interview with Ramdas in that year and not in 1658 or at some earlier time as is alleged by some people. The proof is so convincing that it must now lay the dust of the controversy for all time unless some more reliable evidence to the contrary is forthcoming.

It is a matter of much regret that the author has not shown an equally good sense and discrimination in drawing inferences from *Dasabodh* about the relations of Ramdas with other saints of his time as well as about the mission of Ramdas' life. That Ramdas tried to dissuade the *वारकरी* people from

the worship of Vithoba and to win them over to the worship of his favourite deity Rama is an allegation which is hard to substantiate. Neither history nor tradition supports it. That a sage like Ramdas could entertain any the least animosity against Vithoba, the deity of the *वारकरी* sect or show

partiality for the Brahmin caste at the expense of other castes is to ascribe a too narrow vision and insularity to the saint which is hardly credible.

The book, on the whole, is quite a welcome addition to the present day Marathi literature and will serve to awaken in Marathi readers that faculty of discernment which is a necessity in these days. It is a good proof of the growing historical sense among Marathi writers.

V. G. APTE.

HINDI.

GRIHADAIVI by *Babu Suraja Bhanu Vakil* and published by *Babu Jyoti Prasad, Editor of the Jnan Pradip, Dairband*. Demy. 16 mo. pp. 85. Price—*As. 3.*

Books of these types give individual views of the duties of females deduced mostly by practical experience. They are much better than any second-hand

information on the subject. All these views and the hints based on these are good in their way and must do a great deal in the direction of benefitting those for whom they are intended. The book under review would certainly be very useful and considering the paucity of books for women in Hindi it must have considerable encouragement.

SACHITRA AITIHASIK LAIKH by *Babu Rajkumar Goenka*. Published by the Hindi Pustak Agency, 126 Harrison Road, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. pp. 89. Price As. 6.

These are some notices on historical subjects based mainly on some ancient writings. Things having antiquarian interest have been notably dealt with. The way in which ancient books were kept by a firm in the year 1787 and the observations thereupon, are interesting. A letter sent by Maharaja Ratna Singh of Bikanir to Lord Auckland, the facsimile of which has been given and the comments thereon would be similarly readable. The get-up is excellent.

NARIRATNAMALA, PART I, by *Babu Girija Kumar Ghosh* and to be had of him at Katra, Allahabad. Crown 8vo. pp. 109. Price—As. 7.

This is a collection of short biographies of nine famous heroines of India. We cannot but very highly commend the author on this publication. The language is flawless and the descriptions bespeak the author's skill. The lives have been narrated in the form of so many novelettes. It may be a very suitable prize book for students in girls' schools. The biographies deal with the lives of Damayanti, Padmavati down to Nurjahan and Ahalyabai. The story of Padmavati depicts graphically the ancient glory of Rajput culture and moral standard.

SABHYATA KA ITIHAS by *Pandit Prannath Vidyalandkar* and published at the Star Press, Allahabad. Crown 8vo. pp. 164. Price—As. 12.

This gives a sociological and historical sketch of the way in which civilisation has advanced. The book is an adaptation of a well-known English publication on the subject and it will certainly be a real acquisition to the Hindi Literature. The Grukul of Kangri Haridwar to which Pandit Prannath belongs has made itself famous by notable publications of books, the subjects of which had not been touched formerly by Hindi writers.

BHAROTIYA SHASAN PRABANDH SAMBANDHI SADHARAN KI AVAIDANPATRA by *Mr. Sri Prakash, B.A., L.L.B., Bar-at-Law*, and published by Gyanmandal at the Lakshmi Narayan Press, Benares City. Crown 8vo pp. 264.

This is a translation of the principal portions of the Reform Scheme as published in English by the Government. The other portions which have been considered to be not so important will be published later on by the author. This publication in Hindi so soon after the original publication bespeaks the energy and adventurous zeal of those by whom the author has been helped. The translation is faithful and at such a momentary period of Indian constitution, there is no doubt the book will prove immensely useful. A list of English vocabulary of important terms with their Hindi translations and equivalents has been added.

PRAIMOPHAR KAI KHILKILAYAI PHOOL—

A list of the works of the "Love and Life" Series published by Kumar Devendra Prasad, Analy together with notices thereon in the Press.

BHORMANDAL KAI PRANI, published by *Shreenath Shah, Shamaram, Durgakund, Benares*. Demy 8vo. pp. 78. Price—As. 8.

These are descriptions of strange animals and the descriptions have been suited to the imagination of infants. Efforts have been made to make them specially interesting and entertaining. There was a want of books like these specially suited to the tastes of young children and the book will certainly remove the want. The manner of description will appeal to children and the author is to be congratulated on the way in which he has adopted his work to the necessary requirements. Certain stories have the characteristics of Æsop's fables.

KAISER by *Pandit Hari Raghunath Bhagwat, B.A.* and translated by *Pandit Lakshmidhar Vajpaiyi*. Crown 8vo. pp. 91. Price—As. 10. Published by *Mr. P. N. Patwardhan*. 652, Sadashiv Peth, Poona.

This is a sketch of the life of the German Emperor and there is much originality in the description. Many unknown features of the Kaiser's life have been narrated. The book is one of a series of the Vishwavyanmala Series. The get-up is very nice and the book is bound with thick board.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN by *Pandit Lakshmidhar Vajpaiyi*, published by *Messrs. Diskhit and Dwivedi, Durganj, Allahabad*. Crown 8vo. pp. 190. Price—As. 8.

The author is well-known to the Hindi readers and the book under review upholds his reputation. The life of the famous President of America has been very ably narrated in it, the language and style being good.

M.S.

THE SECRET NAME

In the inscriptions left by mankind on the walls of time I cannot find the name I seek.
When I lay me down to sleep it is that it may be revealed to me in my dreams.
When I wake in the night it is to meditate on that which eludes all words.
Day bringeth the phantasms of the senses, the puppet-play against the Eternal Light.
And all we are and do are for ever blending, as the thousand colours of far-off worlds
blend into the glory of stars.

E. E. SPEIGHT.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

The Archaeological Department.

I.

The Note on the "Importance of Archaeology and duty of the Publicists" (published in the last issue of the *Modern Review*) calls for some comment from one who takes interest in Archaeological work. There were no Indian Superintendents nor a large number of Indian Assistants for some years since the reorganisation of the department in 1902. But now all Assistants are Indians and only half the number of Superintendents are non-Indians. This does not bear out the accusation that the settled policy of the department has been to exclude Indians. Dr. Thomas, the editor of the *Epigraphia Indica*, draws a small annual honourarium of twelve hundred rupees only. He is not the Government Epigraphist that distinction is now held by an Indian, Rao Shahib Krishna Sastri. The work of receding the Asokan inscriptions has been entrusted for the first time to a competent Indian scholar. Dr. Vogel is "manufacturing (?) an epigraphist for India in Holland" not in the person of a foreigner but in that of another distinguished Indian scholar now in England. The system has worked since 1902 with this decided leaning towards the employment of competent Indian scholars. And if X is not satisfied with the results a large share of the blame must rest upon the shoulders of his own countrymen. Archaeology is bound to be one of the 'transferred subjects' under the Reform Scheme. It is therefore necessary for us to be accurate in our information before any wholesale condemnation is publicly pronounced in the way in which "X" has done.

S. R. A.

II.

May I be permitted to offer a few words of protest against some of the statements in the Note on Importance of Archaeology and the Duty of our Publicists in the October number of your Review. If this Note represented the views of any private correspondent* one might not care to take any exception, but since it appears under editorial responsibility the views do call for a protest on certain points, particularly having regard to the fact that we have all learned to greatly value your editorial comments for their independence impartiality and strict adherence to truth, against which unfortunately some statements in the Note in question appear to me to offend. I may say at once that I fully agree with much that has been said in the "Note" with reference to the thesis put forward by Dr. Spooner which has been critically examined by many scholars and pronounced to be untenable or at least disproved for the present. But the views of an officer are quite distinct from the materials that he collects, which may be interpreted by different scholars in different ways and the value of the works of the archaeological department has to be judged by the nature and extent of the materials they have been able to collect, however much one may

differ from them in the mode and manner in which these materials should be read interpreted and presented. To what one takes strong exception is the rather sweeping statement that since 1902 the Archaeological Department has worked with no satisfactory results. I do not know if the author of the "Note" is aware of the nature and difficulties of archaeological work in India and whether he is familiar with the works achieved by the French archaeological commission in Indo-China and of the Dutch Archaeological commission in Java. If he knew them, he would not have ventured to offer such wholesale condemnation of the works achieved by the Archaeological Department in India. Any one with any slight acquaintance with archaeological labours in other countries cannot but offer praise for the extent and output of the work attained in India since 1902. The works of conservation alone and the strenuous labour that they have entailed are worthy of the highest tribute. We Indians are apt to undervalue the works of conservation and restoration which spell such heavy strain on the resources of the department and leave very little time or money to devote to works of research and excavations. If we knew the story of the struggle for snatching funds from the Finance Department we could realise why the results are so less "satisfactory" than one would otherwise expect. In other countries the work of the official archaeologist is supplemented by the efforts of private societies, individuals and universities which finance archaeological expeditions to famous sites and subsidize the publication of expensive monographs embodying the results of such expeditions. In this way many valuable monographs on archaeological works in Indo-China have been published by private subscriptions. The American universities have spent enormous sums of money in sending archaeological missions to Greece, Italy, Egypt and Crete. And if the Archaeological Department in India is not illuminated every year by many new and brilliant discoveries the fault lies not so much with the Department as with the resources at its command. The materials collected require to be studied classified interpreted and published by and with the help of a large number of scholars, each expert in his own subject, but for which no funds are at present available.

Nevertheless, the various works of excavation, e. g., those at Sarnath, Kasia, Sahr-i-balol, Kanishka's Stupa, Nalanda, Taxila and Sanchi have yielded "satisfactory results" of great scientific value in elucidating the history of India. The "Note" seems to be unfair in ignoring the works rendered by the Indian officers of the archaeological department. The work of Mr. Daya Ram Sahani in arranging and cataloguing the Sarnath finds is of real merit. The materials collected by Professor D. R. Bhandarkar for the study of Mediaeval Hindu Temples in Rajputana is of great value. We should also be proud of the works of Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri in the field of South Indian Epigraphy. The writer of the "Note" is undoubtedly on surer ground when he says that very few Indians have been associated with the work of the Archaeological Department and there is no

* They are the views of a correspondent, though they appeared among our "Notes," as the initial "X" shows.—Editor, M. R.

doubt that the work could be greatly enriched by the contributions of Indian workers properly trained in the science of archaeology. The department itself seems to have felt that and the recent association of scholars like Professor Romaprasad Chanda is a step in the right direction. The Government Resolution of 22nd October 1915 for which credit is due to the Director General was not a response to any popular agitation, but a spontaneous declaration of policy in an open and straightforward appreciation of the fact that archaeology in India could not progress without the assistance and co-operation of the people the ancient history of which it seeks to reconstruct.

We are anxiously looking forward to the day when the progress of archaeology in India will be organised and directed by Indians alone, for however efficiently the work may be done by Europeans it will be done in a far more efficient way by competent Indians. Unfortunately public interest in Indian archaeology is almost nil for the present and many of

us who are crying ourselves hoarse for Home-Rule still continue to display a cultivated apathy to the importance of the subject and I hope the "note" will attract the attention of our patriots and public men.

The note seems to suggest that there is quite an army of Indian enthusiasts burning to further the progress of archaeological studies in India. How I wish such suggestions were true, but unfortunately they are not. We have only one Jayaswal and one Haraprasad, but even dozens of them will be helpless without the support of enthusiastic public interest, and what is more, adequate funds to finance their studies.

There are many points raised in the note which require long discussions from which I refrain for the present. I shall only add that the post of the Government Epigraphist is being given permanently to an Indian and not to Dr. Thomas.

ORDIHENDRA COOMAR GANGOLY.

22nd October, 1918.

PRICE AND TRADE CONTROL IN ANCIENT INDIA

AT no other time in human history has economic distress consequent upon war been brought out in more lurid light than during the present world war. The misery which is experienced throughout the world shows how commerce and communications have made the various parts of the world interdependent upon each other so that economic disturbance in one part is easily transmitted to the other parts, just as the diseased condition of any organ of the human body affects the entire system. Restricted transport has dislocated trade. Diversion of industries to war requirements has diminished the supply of food products. Both these together with the greed of the opportunist tradesmen desirous of profiteering have contributed to the inflation of prices. The result is that the poor and middle classes are hard hit, so much so, in their despair the poorest classes have resorted to reckless looting. Want of food products has further diminished the sustaining power of the middle classes already poverty-stricken, so that abnormal physical conditions having caused an outbreak of epidemic, mortality also has run high. All these sufferings would not have been suffered in vain if they would at least open our eyes to recognise our present economic helplessness and to husband our future resources. At such a critical juncture it may be worth our while to examine what our ancient

Hindu civics have ordained to guard against such conditions even in normal times.

Yagnavalkya enjoins on the king the duty of fixing the market price of goods. (Book I, S. 251). It was to be done according to Manu once in 5 days or once in a fortnight in the presence of merchants. The merchants were bound to sell their commodities at the price fixed by the king together with the profit allowed for each commodity. It was not open to them to fix any price they liked.

The margin of profit was fixed not arbitrarily but with due regard to the condition of the market and the nature of the commodity. It also varied according as the produce was of indigenous manufacture or of foreign import. The profit for commodities produced in the country itself was 5 per cent. of the cost price and 10 per cent for foreign goods imported from other countries (Yagnavalkya, Book I, S. 252). This rate of profit however applied only to cases of sales effected soon after manufacture or receipt from foreign countries. If there was any long interval between the date of manufacture and the date of sale, the profit was so regulated as to allow for fluctuations of the market in the meantime and for loss of interest on the capital (Mitakshara). In the case of foreign goods, to the actual price was added the expenses of transit and toll

(Yagnavalkya, Book I, S. 253). The profit was fixed by the king at 5 or 10 per cent after calculation of actual price as stated above.

Any merchant who in combination with others intentionally sold at a higher or lower price than that fixed by the king with a view to derive greater profit to the prejudice of others was liable to punishment (Yagnavalkya, Book I, S. 249). This prevented not only unhealthy competition among merchants themselves but also rendered exploitation of the trader at the expense of the consumer impossible. Simi-

larly any combination among merchants either to lower or raise the price of foreign goods contrary to the standard fixed by the state was punished.

Such was the control which the ancient Hindu states exercised over trade and thereby regulated the prices in the market. Under these conditions there would have been no scope for the cornering of markets or the creation of trusts which tend to enrich the moneyed capitalists and to crush the poor wage-earning classes.

B. GURU RAJAH RAO.

THE CODE OF FAVOURITISM

THE problem of favouritism is as old as human nature. Every page of human history is full of it. Every chapter in the biographies of rulers is painted with its workings. Every account of the activities of political bodies furnishes examples of its existence. That quality of the human mind, namely, seeking after self-interest, is directly responsible for its growth. It does not require any array of arguments or any stretch of imagination to realise how favouritism arises. There are certain ties which bind men to certain classes of communities more than they do to others. These ties are of common race or origin, common history or tradition, common ideals or understandings and common colour or civilisation. When once you identify yourself with a particular class or community, then your interests, your professions, your spheres of work, your ideals and ambitions have a qualified scope, and you become a qualified being. Your groove of action is narrow. The activities of your mind are partial, not universal. You are a man of likes and dislikes. You are seeking after your own safety and welfare. The moral basis of your tendencies and resolutions is not wide. In one word, you are selfish.

2. It is this state of man's mind which gives rise to favouritism amongst individuals and also amongst their groups and associations for various purposes of life. The guiding principle which underlies

favouritism is the desire for self-stability or group-stability and self-advance or group-advance. Though this principle remains the driving force, the objects and activities of favouritism are many and everchanging. Those which help and promote its welfare and progress are preferred to those which hinder and obstruct them. It is always time and place which indicate their value and utility. They have no permanent value in themselves.

3. It is an interesting study in a country like India to know the activities and objects of favouritism, and I wish to deal here with the rise of politically favoured classes, their maintenance, their value, their specialities, their place in national economy and culture, and the differential treatment shown to them in all things of political importance.

4. India is a place where men have chosen to form separate associations for every different principle or mode of life they represent, or for every different social or moral religious or philosophical doctrine they follow, or even for every place they inhabit. This instinct or tendency for circumscribed and exclusive life has resulted in the growth of a great number of sects, castes or communal groups, and consequently has given rise to conflicting interests and ways of thought, and to a great difference in the level of importance of each of them in the structure of Indian political life. Their past history has also

increased or lessened their importance in this life.

5. It would be helpful to the discussion and elucidation of this subject to classify peoples in India according to the political importance attached to them by the governing class. This classification will be somewhat as follows if we make two divisions or groups; one that of the favoured, and the other that of the not-favoured.

Favoured group. *Not-favoured group.*

- | | |
|---|---------------------|
| (1) Europeans (whites). | Indians (coloured). |
| (2) Christians. | Non-Christians. |
| (3) Eurasians. | Indian Christians. |
| (4) Mahomedans. | Hindus & others. |
| (5) Parsis, Jews, etc. | Hindus. |
| (6) Non-Brahmanas. | Brahmanas. |
| (7) Illiterate and uneducated (masses). | Educated. |

6. The sovereign power in India is the British. It is foreign in race, language, culture and affinities. Its centre of attraction is obviously elsewhere. Its prime interests in India are always those of its own stability and permanence, its pecuniary advantages and commercial profits, its prestige and power. All that leads to these, all that supports these is to be planned and executed. Altruistic considerations are secondary and inferior in importance.

7. The governance of India is based in all its working on a fixed policy. Political utility is its maxim of work. You will not find an even balance held between the peoples in India, nor an equality of treatment meted out to them. They are tickled or teased, favoured or vilified, according to their political importance. It is not the numerical strength of a community, it is not its professions of loyalty or its love of order and peace, but it is its usefulness as a political weapon, it is its value as a political body which determine its fitness to receive some favoured treatment, some preferential grants and boons. The cost of these last may be borne by any other community. The determining question is not who pays, but who is to derive advantages. The distributor is supreme. The payer is submissive. He must pay without any protest or representation. The distributor has the right or the strength to enjoy the benefits or to distribute them amongst his favourites. The payer can only murmur whispers fruitlessly, the distributor doing his work

without remorse, without hindrance or with impunity.

8. The truth of the above remarks will be borne out by a further analysis of the importance of each community as seen from the treatment and favours it receives from the governing body.

9. First of all come Europeans. It is in their, and their interests alone, that this whole show of an Empire is carried on, that the cry of a "white man's burden" is raised, that this sweet talk of an Imperial Preference is started. Everywhere their rights are far greater than those of others. In all Government departments their status, power and emoluments are high, but their responsibility to the tax-payers is practically nil. Their words are generally carried out as laws, and their actions very often taken as rights. You have to obey implicitly what they order. They will regulate all the practice and procedure, even if you are at all allowed to discuss the adoption of any principle. All social and religious laws, all commercial and industrial enactments, all political and educational acts will be drawn up by them. They are the masters and you are the servants. Ultimate decisions on points of law will be recorded by them. The spirit of your culture must give way before their interpretations. All places of importance, of power, prestige, all sinecure places, all posts carrying high salaries, all departments which increase useful knowledge, which raise status, which are pecuniarily advantageous are allotted to this favoured class. The head of every institution, of every department is recruited from that class. All facilities for travel, trade and tour are provided for them. Every attempt is made to furnish them comfort and opportunity so that they may be able to exploit India to their own advantage. All laws are relaxed in their favour. Special mild laws are enacted in their interests. They are exempted from the Arms Act. The Indian Penal Code diminishes its rigour towards them. The Press Act does not interfere with their work. Law bends before them. Procedure and judge's discretion furnish safety valves for their escape. There is no other class equal to them in political importance. For their education separate and commodious, well-equipped and well-staffed schools will be built and maintained. They will receive every kind of training, mental and physical, making them fit for a good citizen's work.

Proportionately very large grants would be made for their education, irrespective of money they contribute as taxes. Every one of them will be made literate. Their social and religious needs and cravings will be cared for and satisfied. Poverty will not be allowed to visit them as far as possible. All required qualifications will be easily relaxed or broken in order to make them accommodation in well-salaried posts.

10. The ruling class considers its own stability, permanence and vested interests to be safe and to depend mainly on their (Europeans') proper maintenance. They must be flattered and kept pleased by giving them greater advantages, more facilities, and superior powers and status. To displease them would be to destroy the purpose of this political structure. But is the value of their maintenance for our sake so great as to necessitate all this favouritism? Indians are loyal to the British connection in their own interests. They are able to manage many branches of administration if only allowed to do so. What at present is performed by that class will be performed equally well by us. We are sure and certain about it. Moreover it will be done less expensively. If Britain's purpose in India is to train us for self-government, then even if we be a little inferior in our abilities and work, it is in our interest that we should be allowed to carry on the work of the country without any interference. Help us, and guide us, not check us or hinder us in our advance. The pampering of the European class at our cost is evidently detrimental to our larger and permanent national interests. It is a danger to our advance in Self-government. Its existence has left no scope for the development of our virtues and qualities. It mars our growth by its desire and opportunity to determine the administration and policy of our country. We are made to move only in a circumscribed area under constant checks and limitations. There is no scope for the free growth of our inherent individual and national tendencies and character. This alien element in the structure of our national activities goes against the grain of our culture. We are heavily losing every day by being cut away from a life of political responsibility. Our self-respect and self-confidence, two great qualities of a people, have suffered heavily. Thus we

find that at a great cost to us, in law, in getting posts, in the administration of justice towards them, in commercial undertakings and trade, in mining operations and railways, they receive all the possible advantages and facilities in every part of India, for the simple reason that the Government officers are their kith and kin.

11. Let us now see what favourable opportunities they enjoy in commerce and trade. India is a great market for the products of European industries. The policy of *laissez faire*, the organised destruction of indigenous industries during the East India Company's regime, and foreign commerce and the European advance in scientific machinery, appliances and chemistry have killed the Indian competition in manufactured goods and industries. The want of technical and scientific education, the lack of facilities for studying at the great organisations of industrial factories and mills have taken away Indians from the chief source of producing wealth, namely industries. The possession of raw materials, the existence of cheap labour and of Indian money in Government and European Banks are only utilised by foreign capitalists, whose profits are enhanced, the other factors costing less. Indians for want of capital, co-operation and scientific knowledge are unable to utilise the richness of the materials and the cheapness of the labour. For want of a national government the indigenous industries and foreign commerce are not able to develop on any sound or progressive lines. European capitalists find India a safe market for investment and for further immense profit, the so-called British capital being really accumulated in India out of abnormal profits. Their interests are scrupulously secured first. They are encouraged to exploit India and to reap advantages in money and comforts. Railways afford them facilities in transmission of goods. Banks give them money on low rates of interest for their industrial undertakings in India. They secure big contracts and earn good commission. All the carrying trade with other countries, all the passenger traffic are done by European companies. They reach directly the cultivator and earn also the middleman's profit. Government officials who have large works to be executed entrust them to European firms. Many of the great agricultural industries of India, e. g., Jute,

Indigo, and Tea, pour their enormous profits into their pockets. Almost all the mining operations of the country are carried on by the European companies. Private Railways are practically owned and managed by them. The Navy has place only for them. The artillery is practically entrusted to their charge. Commissions in the army are still practically issued to them only. Higher offices in these departments are reserved for them alone.

12. Exchange is made as favourable to them as possible, even at the cost of the stability of the Indian Currency and monetary system. Facilities for the transmission of money from England to India or *vice versa* have been afforded to English merchants at the cost of Indian money and of unsettling the Indian treasury.

13. Then there are some religious institutions, the bishoprics of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and other places maintained at the cost of the tax-payer—a practice which militates against and transgresses the professed principle of religious neutrality. Religious convents, colleges and schools started by Christian Missionaries receive grants-in-aid for their work. The activities of the Salvation Army are fostered by grants of land and money. And there are many other ways in which this Gospel of favouritism works. But this is in short the code of favouritism applied fully to and enjoyed continuously by those who are first in political importance.

14. Now we shall take the community of Christians which includes Eurasians first and Indian Christians next. Perhaps in their heart of hearts these people are not liked by Europeans, most probably because they imitate apishly European forms of dress, language, food etc., and there are other reasons also for the same. But this class of people are held in greater importance in political favouritism. Its code embraces them more sympathetically and distributes favours amongst them more liberally than amongst the remaining communities. Look at the care taken for their education. They are allowed to enlist as volunteers. Greater consideration is shown in giving them posts. Railway platforms and engines are their monopolies. Higher police services, Pier posts are becoming their preserves. Railways afford greater conveniences and separate compartments for their travel. Every station

reserves comfortable waiting rooms and makes other accommodations for their use. Comparatively inferior qualifications will secure them places undreamed of by others. They are a counterweight against the political aspirations of Indians. By favouring them abnormally they are made permanent hirelings to be used in times of necessity for the good of their masters. Their eyes are turned away from India, their centres of affection lie outside.

15. I shall now come to the Mahomedans. There is a great gap and fall between this community and those already mentioned in point of favouritism. They belong to a religion historically opposed to Christianity and to Christians. There was no love lost between the followers of the two different but militant faiths. In their struggle for conversion of "infidels" and acquisition of territory they crossed swords on many a battlefield in every country for any trivial dispute. But in India they came to possess greater political importance in the eyes of a portion of the ruling class. In the valuation of Hindus and Mahomedans as the two chief communities of India, Hindus were discarded as less useful because greater in number, more patriotic at first, and with aspirations centred in India and for India. Though now to the permanent good of India the Mahomedans have changed their angle of vision and are following practically the same lines of work as the Hindus, they were considered until recently to hate Hindus as being their inferiors and subjects in the past, as infidels or kafirs in religion. Hence they were thought to be a good weight and weapon against Hindus in whatever the Hindus demanded or wanted to achieve. The past glories of their kingdoms in India, their ideas of being foreigners in the country, their western look towards Arabia and Persia, their civilisation, and their interest elsewhere all this was calculated to keep them apart from the people of the country. In valuing them politically as an asset for the stability of the British rule they were thought to be more weighty and useful.

16. The education of Mahomedans is receiving separate care. The exclusive and non-national tendencies shown by a section of them are fostered. The militant spirit and turbulence displayed by some classes of them are not looked upon with disfavour so long as these flow along well

understood channels. In legislative councils they have received separate electorates in addition to their share in the general electorate. They are now being given separate representations in municipalities and local boards, though great statesmen and foresighted patriots know that the principle of separate, communal representation is disastrous to the development of a strong polity for India and India's harmonious political future.

17. The treatment of other favoured groups is similar but minor in character and less in importance. It is not worth our while to describe it here.

18. Very few will deny the truth of the description given above of the principles and workings of political favouritism in India. Of the many factors which go against our national interests, this Gospel of favouritism, this reign of partiality and injustice are the most prominent. Hence we have to know their workings so as to be able to find out ways to minimise their adverse influence.

Amraoti,
Berar.

S. V. PUNTAMDEKAR.

INDIAN WOMEN OF TO-MORROW

BY MISS KRISHNABAI TULASKAR.

EVERY one, specially the educated, knows that the history of woman has begun in all the great countries of the world. At present India may not be great politically, but certainly she is a great country which has contributed a most important and solid share to the civilisation of the world. In such a country of one of the most ancient civilisations, we are glad to see that the woman has commenced to make and write her own history. Wise and sincere workers must catch this time to help the cause of those who form the most precious part of humanity. To help women is to help the world in various ways, because the forming of a happy home, a useful and healthy society, and a strong nation, depends upon its women. It will not be exaggerating to say that any type of generation we produce will take its characteristics according to the type of womanhood in that generation. Now India is entering upon a new era of enlightenment and it behoves its women to keep with the times and avail themselves of the new favourable conditions offered for their progress. Training them along proper and reformed lines, making them feel the great responsibilities that lie before them and the part they are called upon to play, will prepare them for doing their part faithfully and intelligently. By nature

woman is very different from man, and though man is working very hard to alleviate human sufferings, it is woman alone who can root out these miseries completely when she works with her heart and soul.

The ignorance which prevails among the women of India of their own power and influence is the great obstacle in the way of their doing their share of the work. The tender heart of a woman is touched very deeply at the sight of suffering humanity; she readily gives her sympathy and is willing to do whatever she can for them. The work of European women in the present war, in which their countries are engaged in a death struggle against one another, affords splendid example of unparalleled self-sacrifice. The Indian woman does not lack this spirit of self-sacrifice. She shows it in even a greater degree, because her outlook in life is very different from that of the woman in the West. Her sweet and gentle nature, a very sympathetic and loving heart, a highly spiritual outlook of life, her persistency in carrying out moral ideas of which she is convinced, her delicate mind, and her remarkable spirit of self-sacrifice, all these qualities make of her a superb type of womanhood which not very many countries are fortunate to possess. But our women do not know their own

qualities, the influence they can exert and the great position which belongs to them, in the home as well as in the world. Several of the excellent qualities like fidelity, generosity, &c., at present ill-informed and misdirected, if trained and used with discrimination will form powerful factors in the reform of the home as well as society.

The long subjection in which our women have been kept in entire ignorance of their own excellent qualities and the systematic suppression of their natural growth, have dulled their imagination and they are quite unconscious of the high mission they have in life. To them their life's work consists only in waiting upon man, serving him faithfully and being ready to bend at his slightest pleasure.

With our advanced thinking our attitude and notion regarding the relation of man to man is entirely changed, and with that the relation of man to woman is no longer the same. Man and woman are two component parts of one life whether in the home, the community, the nation or the world at large. Is it right then that the development of half of the human race should be neglected or half heartedly attended to? Can humanity make any real advance and be really happy while one of its halves is lying paralysed in ignorance and steeped in misery? If we wish that India should make any solid and real progress based on higher principles of life, let then her women receive the fullest consideration and let them come forward to take their right place and responsibilities. The social and spiritual health of the country can be only preserved and real regeneration of India in all spheres of life will be only achieved when her women will take their proper place in the new India of to-morrow. We are sometimes tempted to take some very poor satisfaction in the idea that we are educating our women and are trying hard to improve their lot. But the education that we have given them in the past and are giving even at present has done very little to enlighten their minds nor has it made them any much better than before. Even this poor education has not reached all; and where it has reached, all that it has done is to make them only more intelligent workers at home and better ministers to the wants of their brothers or husbands. But we must be far more sincere and honest when

we take up the cause of our women. Their education must be based on the new educational conceptions and advanced methods. In India the term education means making a person better and more intelligent animal by the acquisition of ready-made facts. The educated man feels that he is more civilised than his fellow being who has no education and that he will be able to earn better and live more decently. True education is much more than this. It is unfolding the mind, leading out all latent, noble and humanly qualities in man and building up his character. It means a clear and intelligent mind. Its aim is self-expression through self-realisation. Its further aim is to make the man a self-sufficient being and a useful member of the Society. Right education must help a man to find out his proper place in life and prepare him to fit himself in that position.

The living interest in the social, intellectual, religious, and political activities, which we find lacking in India, will be supplied when our women will understand them intelligently and co-operate with men heartily. To help them do so the old and defective system of education of women must be changed and based afresh on newer and healthier conceptions. Their educations must be such as to make them more useful members of the society. Until recently the ideal of the Indian woman had been to get married and live within the four walls of her home ministering to man's necessities and going through the drudgery of life cheerfully and bravely. Her vision seldom extended beyond this. Married life is certainly the highest expression of human joy and happiness but it should not be forgotten that even there man and woman should join hands in loving partnership and share the responsibilities of that life equally. Neither in the home nor elsewhere, however, woman in India has yet received her proper recognition. On account of some economic considerations and other physical advantages man has assumed a superiority over woman, and she out of a deep sense of self-sacrifice has submitted to him willingly without complaint. But woman is the noblest expression of God and she must have the fullest scope to grow and develop herself, not merely that she may demand her happiness and comforts in life, but that she may grow fully according to

her nature and in that growth realise the beauty of her existence and shed its bliss and lustre in her home and outside. She does not need to be taught only to give herself willingly and do sacrifice for others. That is woven in her nature and consciously or unconsciously she has never swerved from it. Her tender nature makes her take interest in helping humanity. But what she particularly needs is broadening her outlook and realising that society is nothing but an enlargement of the home and whatever affects the latter must affect the society. She will then feel responsible for all civic matters which affect both equally. In America for instance women take a keen interest in public matters, feel concerned in the existence of social evils, even outside their homes, and boldly handle such questions as smoking, drinking, adulteration of food, bad treatment of the children in the factories, etc. Men always try to remove these evils but it is women alone who can lay effective campaigns against them and root them out successfully. In America sex prejudice has almost disappeared, and men and women have joined their hands in co-operation for the common good and are laying their lives jointly and intelligently on the altar of duty towards humanity. There is no longer found that distrust in the opposite sex which is the great obstacle to social progress in any country. This want of confidence is due to our wrong notion of the relation between the sexes, and has no basis in any solid and healthy convictions. If children are brought up with higher ideals and in pure and natural relationship, they will behave towards each other as brothers and sisters with mutual trust and love.

While taking into account the peculiar temperament of our women which may ripen into a fruitful life, their special qualities must be cultivated by education. The new education which our women should receive must suit her temperament and make her conscious of her own capacities. Her intellectual training must help her unfold her latent faculties which are to be cultivated to some useful ends. It must help her to find out her proper place in life and in social fabric and make her a self-sufficient and cultured human being and an efficient worker in society. If India of to-morrow is to produce women worthy

of her name the system of education of women must undergo a complete change. They should not be made to go through a mere mode of intellectual grinding as we have provided for men, and stuff their minds with manufactured ideas of others. All our special institutions for women or those where co-education is allowed will not help the cause of our women so much as was hoped for, as long as they work with a blind devotion to inefficient methods of education. We want women who will bring about a regeneration of the home, the society and the nation on healthy and higher principles of life. First they must understand their wider moral relation towards each other so that they can give their sympathy and help to all. They must be able to cast out all social restrictions which blind the mind and degenerate the moral character. They should know many of the evils and immoralities which are practised under the name of religion and must administer their generosity and kindness wisely and in an organised form.

The saddest thing we notice in India is the disrespectful and mean attitude of man towards woman. Even the so-called educated class is not free from this blame. We grieve to see in all public places and streets the way that our women of higher as well as lower classes are treated. For their selfishness and self-satisfaction men treat women no better than human animals. These evils can only be remedied when women are educated intelligently so that they will stand for their rights and better treatment at the hands of the other sex. Then they will teach their children and brothers to respect a woman and receive her on an equal footing. In America for example if a woman gets into a street car which is crowded any man will at once offer his seat no matter what the colour of her skin is, black or yellow or white; the police too in the street will treat her most politely.

There is another fact which accounts for man's assumed superiority over woman and that is the economic dependence of the latter on the former. Let woman be economically independent of man and man will at once change his attitude towards her as he has done in the West. Her economic independence and her intellectual training will give her the right place in society. Apart from these considerations

our women feel keenly their dependent position and live a miserable and unhappy life. The society which allows that half of its members should be deprived of their rights and simple comforts of life is morally rotten. Only the right education of our women will remedy this evil.

In America there is no line of activity or department of business which does not include women workers and seek their help and co-operation. When women join any work of social reconstruction it is bound to be successful. By their personality and sincere efforts every social movement becomes a living force for the betterment of humanity. The influence of a woman is very inspiring, and with her help man can achieve much in bringing about better social condition, and lead humanity in its onward march of progress. Our men must change their attitude towards women not with a sense of patronising them but by receiving them as equals in life and helping them to make their life more useful not for man's own self-aggrandisement but for helping the suffering and neglected humanity. Various social organisations and clubs where men and women can come together without the least constraint and on perfect equality will help to bring about this attitude. There both will freely exchange their thoughts and find out the means whereby they can help and work together for the neglected and unfortunate section of our people.

They must play their part ably and intelligently in the educational and political work of reconstruction as well. If they themselves are enlightened and if their ideas are broadened they will be the proper persons to take up the work of the coming generation. The patient, kind and loving temperament of women make them better teachers than men in handling the delicate child-mind. The impressions received and the kind of turn given to the innocent and tender child-mind has a more permanent effect than any help given in later life. In America nearly half the number of the teachers are women in elementary and public schools. In America women teachers are employed on a large scale even in colleges and universities, and it is such an interesting sight to see men and women paying their homage and loving tribute to women teachers and drawing their inspiration from them, and

drinking at the same fountain of knowledge.

The employment of women as teachers will also give them work which will improve their economic condition as well. The economic independence of woman, the raising of their status and their intelligent co-operation will help to bring about a better understanding between the sexes and each will help the other in the cause of humanity, and when men and women are working in perfect harmony and co-operation then there is greater hope for rapid progress. Then civic matters will not be entirely left in the hands of men who cannot see all the sides of every question which affects life. Many of the social corruptions will be removed and life will be made much happier and nobler than before. The resources and energies of men and women will be better organised and utilised and all the poor in society will have their share of blessings. National activities will receive great inspiration and living interest and women will contribute their share in the national regeneration of the country. When women have received broad and liberal education whereby their minds get truly cultured they will fill their place nobly. Their enthusiasm and earnestness will bring success more easily and men will not loath to seek their cooperation but on the other hand will appreciate it better.

It is evident then that for imparting true education and culture to our women, an entirely new system must be introduced based on a rational and proper estimate of their qualities and capacities and a full realisation of their mission in life. In this new system of education the one most important thing which requires particular emphasis in India is the physical development. The mental sloth, the moral blankness, the dull vision and general inability of action which are in abundant evidence in our people are due to weak physique. When the woman herself is not in a fit condition of body, her children will be weaklings who cannot meet the stern demands of national duty and self-sacrifice; and no nation can be strong as long as its men and women are not healthy and vigorous. Each woman must consider it a sacred duty in bringing up her child to help it develop a healthy and strong physique. If women are healthy in body then they will also have a

healthy intellectual growth which will bring a rich and valuable contribution to the national life. Physical training, right cultural education, wider knowledge of sociology and the social sciences, vocational training, knowledge of domestic economy, and economic provision before and after education are some of the points to be considered in the education of the women of to-morrow.

Women so educated will form fitting companions to men in their work for the national cause. India will then earn quickly her proud position amongst the nations of the world and will shed that spiritual light which will illumine the path of stumbling humanity, and that peace which will bring it real happiness. Let then the cause of women's education be

taken up in all the earnestness and the spirit of a sacred duty. If the India of to-morrow is to prosper materially and spiritually then no longer can she tread the old beaten path of the last several centuries. Her men and women must unfold their life in all its departments and bring to the world the gift of their spiritual living. Then will they work not as individuals of a merely larger group like a nation, for whose welfare only they feel responsible, but their sympathies will extend to other nations also for their motto will be "above all is humanity". By their silent but effective work they will carry the message of peace, love and brotherhood to the world and restore to India her place as a spiritual mother of the world.

NOTES

Lord Morley on Detention without Trial.

Now that hundreds of men, deprived of liberty without trial, have been living as state prisoners in jails or detenus interned in villages, for years and as it is apprehended that detentions without regular trial may be made by legislation a permanent feature of the Indian administration, it may be of interest to know what Lord Morley thought of such repressive methods. In the present century these methods were resorted to in this country for the first time when he was Secretary of State and Lord Minto Viceroy of India.

A prefatory word or two seems necessary. A perusal of Viscount Morley's *Recollections* leaves the impression on the mind that he looked at and administered Indian affairs rather as a politician who considered what was expedient and what would not greatly offend members of parliament and enrage Anglo-Indians than as a statesman guided by Liberal or Radical political principles. We say this because the observations of Lord Morley on deportations may be, in the present temper of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy and non-officials, dismissed as the vapourings of a doctrinaire politician. But what-

ever he may have been in other capacities, he was certainly not a doctrinaire as India's Secretary of State. A doctrinaire Radical would not have pronounced, as Lord Morley has done, the following eulogium on Lord Curzon's Indian administration. "The old system had never been worked with loftier and more beneficent purpose or with a more powerful arm than by the genius and indomitable labour of Lord Curzon."

Before we proceed to give some extracts, bearing on deportations and deportees, from the weekly letters addressed by Lord Morley to Lord Minto, as printed in the former's *Recollections*, we shall draw attention to some opinions of Lord Morley expressed in that work. He expresses "aversion" to "the quackery of hurried violence dissembling as love of order." The executive and the police would do well to bear this phrase in mind when they have to deal with crowds; it should make them pause before ordering men to be bayoneted or shot down. It should also make house-searches, internments, and confinement as state prisoners of lesser frequency. It is usual at present for officials to suspect "philanthropists" of being revolutionaries, and to consider "agita-

tors" "pestilential." In one of the letters to the Viceroy occurs the following passage :

And here let me warn you that it is a lifelong way of mine not to be afraid of either of two words: "philanthropist" is one, and "agitator" is the other. Most of what is decently good in our curious world has been done by these two much-abused sets of folk.

The almost invariable bureaucratic practice in India is to back up the executive and the police, whether they be right or wrong. The author of the *Recollections* says :

Suppose the designs of the extreme men are as mischievous, impracticable and sinister as anybody pleases. Call them a band of plotters, agitators, what you will. Is that any reason why we should at every turn back up all executive authority through thick and thin, wise or silly, right or wrong? Surely that is the very way to play the agitator's game. Everybody warns us that a new spirit is growing and spreading over India; Lawrence, Chirol, Sidney Low, all sing the same song: "You cannot go on governing in the same spirit; you have got to deal with the Congress party and Congress principles, whatever you may think of them: be sure that before long the Mahometans will throw in their lot with Congressmen against you," and so forth and so forth. That is what they all cry out.

This was written in June, 1906. In a letter written in December next year, referring to what happened at the Surat Congress, he said: "it means, I suppose, the victory of Extremist over Moderate, going no further at this stage than the break-up of the Congress, but pointing to a future stage in which the Congress will have become an Extremist organisation." We may incidentally observe that "Moderate" and "Extremist" are relative terms. Those among us who are called Extremists are moderation itself compared with the Czecho-Slovaks and Poles whom the Allies have agreed to treat as independent belligerent nations. We are called extremists because though we wish to remain within the British Empire our very moderate demands are felt as an encroachment upon the preserve of the British bureaucrats and exploiters; and the Czecho-Slovaks and Poles are to be treated as independent belligerent nations because their insurrection and fighting are directed against the Austrians and the Germans.

On August 26, 1909, Lord Morley wrote to the Viceroy:

Your long extract from B—— to you is really of first-rate interest. It is surely as satisfactory as anything that we can expect in these turbid days. His diagnosis of the dangerous elements underground seems very just and sound. But he should certainly

be warned not to count on deportation as a weapon to be freely resorted to; and as for "legislating on the lines of the Irish Crimes Act," it is pure nonsense. He seems to refer to Forster's Act (not Balfour's of 1887), and that was about the most egregious failure in the whole history of exceptional law. If I know anything in the world, it is the record and working of Irish coercion since 1881, and the notion in the present parliamentary circumstances, and with me of all men in the universe as Secretary of State, of our being a party to a new law authorising "detention without trial" is really too absurd to be thought of. The venerable Regulation of 1818 is not easily swallowed, and a new version of it is a dream that a shrewd man like B—— should be too wideawake to nurse in his head for a single minute. However, he evidently will not be in a hurry to stir for new engines of repression if he can possibly help it.

In another letter occurs the following passage :

The question is the Future. 'Tis like the Czar and the Duma. Are we to say, "you shall have reforms when you are quiet. Meanwhile we won't listen to a word you say. Our reform projects are hung up. Meanwhile plenty of courts-martial, *lettres de cachet*, and the other paraphernalia of law and order." People here who have been shouting against the Grand Dukes in Petersburg for bullying the Duma, will shout equally vociferously against you and me if we don't in our own sphere borrow the Grand Duke policy.

That deportation is inconsistent with radical principles Morley knew very well. Hence he wrote to the Viceroy :

Deportation is an ugly dose for Radicals to swallow; in truth if I did not happen to possess a spotless character as an anti-coercionist in Ireland, our friends would certainly have kicked a good deal. As it is, if a division is forced after my speech, we shall have against us the Irishmen, most if not all of the Labourmen, and a fair handful of our ordinary rank and file. This may put me personally into something of a whole; for I don't see how I could carry on, if I found myself opposed by a majority of our own party. However, we need not say good morrow to the Devil until we meet him.

Morley freely expressed the opinion that some high officers of Government in India required to be placed under restraint. He wrote :

"And now, by the way, that we have got down the rusty sword of 1818 [Act for deportation], I wish you would deport — and — [two officials]. What do you say? I should defend that operation with real verve."

At present also there are certain high officers of Government who require badly to be deported,—if only to England.

After the "villainy of the Bombs, the revelations connected with the Bombs," as Morley puts it, he wrote :

The ex-Anglo-Indian official, with plenty of time on his hands, and a horrible facility of penmanship, flies to the newspapers in most lively vociferation, above the familiar signatures of "Indicus olim," "One

who knows," and so forth. Then more sensible and more serious are the various orders of Money-Changers, who are interested in Indian loans of all kinds. That they should watch us with anxious eyes is in the natural order of things; and so it is that they should curse us for want of Vigour and all the other fine words in that specious vocabulary. Well, I'm as much for Vigour as they are, but I am not going to admit that Vigour is the same thing as Pogroms. When I read of the author (or printer) of a "seditious pamphlet" being punished with seven years of transportation, I feel restive. I have ordered that the pamphlet and proceedings shall be sent to me, and it may prove that I have been misinformed. I hope so. Then — is said to have sentenced some political offenders (so called) to be flogged. That, as I am advised, is not authorised by the law either as it stood, or as it will stand under flogging provisions as amended. Here also I have called for the papers, and we shall see. — said to me this morning, "You see, the great executive officers never like or trust lawyers." "I will tell you why," I said, "'tis because they don't like or trust law: they in their hearts believe before all else the virtues of will and arbitrary power." That system may have worked in its own way in old days, and in those days the people may have had no particular objection to arbitrary rule. But, as you have said to me scores of times, the old days are gone and the new times breathe a new spirit; and we cannot carry on upon the old maxims. This is not to say that we are to watch the evil-doers with folded arms, waiting to see what the Devil will send us. You will tell me what you think is needed. I trust, and fully believe, that you will not judge me to be callous, sitting comfortably in an arm chair at Whitehall, while bombs are scattering violent death in India; while men like — are running risk of murder every hour for year after year upon the frontier; while all sorts and conditions of men and women are enveloped in possibilities of hideous horrors like those of fifty years ago. [How greatly exaggerated all this is. Ed., M.R.] All I can say is that we have to take every precaution that law and administration can supply us with; and then and meanwhile to face what comes, in the same spirit of energy and stoicism combined in which good generals face a prolonged and hazardous campaign.

The letter dated August 26, 1908, is very important, and must be quoted in full.

I am still loitering in Scotland, but every day's post brings me away to India, and even if the post failed, native activity of mind would suffice to carry me off in solitary and reflective hours to the same detectable region.

Having paid myself that handsome compliment, I at once hasten to balance it by a word or two on matters where I am dogged and impenetrable. You warn me against "disapproval at home of severe sentences," and you draw me a vivid picture of the electric atmosphere of the daily life around you, and of the dangerous inflammation of racial antipathies. Vivid—but I am sure not a single shade too vivid for the plain facts. I wish you would in your next letter tell me the end of the story of the young Corporal who in a fit of excitement shot the first Native he met. What happened to the Corporal? Was he put on his trial? Was he hanged? I cannot but honour Curzon for his famous affair with the 9th Lancers, so far as I have correctly heard the story. If we are not strong enough to prevent

Murder, then our pharisaic glorification of the stern justice of the British Raj is nonsense. And the fundamental question for you and me to-day is whether the excited Corporal and the angry Planter are to be the arbiters of our policy. True, we should be fools to leave out of account the deep roots of feeling that the angry Planter represents and stands for. [We do not understand this. Editor, M. R.] On the other hand, is it not idle for us to pretend to the Natives that we wish to understand their sentiment, and satisfy the demands of "honest reformers," and the rest of our benignant talk, and yet silently acquiesce in all these violent sentences? You will say to me, "These legal proceedings are at bottom acts of war against rebels, and locking a rebel up for life is more affable and polite than blowing him from a gun: you must not measure such sentences by the ordinary standards of a law-court; they are the natural and proper penalties for Mutiny, and the Judge on the bench is really the Provost-Marshal in disguise." Well, be it so. But if you push me into a position of this sort—and I do not deny that it is a perfectly tenable position, if you like—then I drop reforms. I would not talk any more about the New Spirit of the Times, and I will tell Asquith that I am not the man for the work, and that what it needs, if he can put his hand on him, is a good, sound, old-fashioned Eldonian Secretary of State. Pray remember that there is to be a return of these sentences laid before Parliament. They will be discussed, and somebody will have to defend them. That somebody I won't be. Meanwhile, things will move, or may move, and we shall see where we stand when the time comes. —, writing to me by the last mail, says this: "If the situation took a turn for the worse, I wonder if you would support me in the deportation of two or three dangerous men?" etc. I have replied to this cool demand for a number of blank *lettres de cachet*, given under my hand, to be filled in at discretion, by saying that "no resort to this proceeding must be taken without previous reference to me, with a full statement of the case." I am writing this in Scotland away from official archives, but if my memory is right, I attached the same condition about deportation in regard to the G. of I. itself. *A fortiori*, to Bombay, Madras, or any other local Government. However, I fervently hope that things will not take a turn for the worse. Anyhow, it is silly to be in such a hurry to root out the tares as to pluck up half your wheat at the same time. If we have any claim to be men of large views, it is our duty not to yield without resistance to the passions and violences of a public that is apt to take narrow views. Clemency Canning was a great man after all.

The public impression in Bengal continues, in spite of the Rowlatt Committee's Report and Chandavarkar Committee's Memorandum, that the prevalent policy of detention and imprisonment without trial has resulted in rooting out more wheat than tares. If the Rowlatt Committee's recommendations are embodied in a permanent statute, then woe for the wheat! In recent years hundreds of men have been deprived of liberty without trial, but there was no Secretary of State like Viscount Morley to demand that "no resort to this

proceeding must be taken without previous reference to me, with a full statement of the case." We are also reminded in this connection with what he wrote on August 23, 1907, 'I see that—says that this drastic power of muzzling an agitator will save the necessity of "urging deportation". He must have forgotten what I very explicitly told him, that I would not sanction deportation except for a man of whom there was solid reason to believe that violent disorder was the direct and deliberately planned result of his action.' How many persons have been imprisoned as state prisoners in recent years in full consonance with the ground stated above?

In a letter dated June 7, 1907, Morley says, 'since deportation began, I am often wounded in the house of my friends—"shelving the principles of a life time," "violently unsaying all that he has been saying for thirty or forty years," and other compliments of that species. This from men to whom I have been attached and with whom I have worked all the time!' The same letter contains a passage which enables us to understand why no voice has been raised in Parliament against the deprivation of hundreds of persons of liberty without trial, in what Morley calls the Austrian or Russian manner. Describing an interview with Ibbetson, ex-Satrap of the Panjab, Morley writes:—

"He agreed with me that if deportation is to be used, it ought to be a quick and unconditional stroke. But he thought deportation without condition or choice would do good. To this my reply was that if prosecution failed, then we could go forward to deportation with a clear conscience. [It can not be said of a single case of deportation that it was resorted to because prosecution failed. Ed., M.R.] The plain truth is that *if there were any solid and substantial reason for believing India is drifting into a dangerous condition*, and if that can be decently established, then—so far as opinion in Parliament and the country is concerned—we can do what we please."

Britishers are woefully ignorant of Indian affairs. It is quite easy for Anglo-Indian and other interested scare-mongers to prove to Britishers that India is drifting or has drifted into a dangerous condition, as has been not unoften done. When that is done, "British justice" disappears, and "we [i.e., those charged with the government of India] can do what we please." Therefore, the remedy for Austrian or Russian methods in India can not be had by appealing to "the sense of justice of the British nation"; the remedy

lies only and solely in complete self-government for India.

A passage from the letter dated May 27, 1909, is worth quoting.

"A pretty heavy gale is blowing up in the House of Commons about Deportation, and shows every sign of blowing harder as time goes, for new currents are showing. On the last fusillade of questions at the beginning of the week, a very clever Tory lawyer, F. E. Smith, a rising hope of his party, and not at all a bad fellow, joined the hunt, and some of the best of our own men are getting uneasy. The point taken is the failure to tell the deportee what he is arrested for; to detain him without letting him know exactly why; to give him no chance of clearing himself. In spite of your Indian environment, you can easily imagine how taking is such a line as that, to our honest Englishmen with their good traditions of legal right; and you will perceive the difficulty of sustaining a position so uncongenial to popular habits of mind, either Whig or Tory."

The letter dated August 12, 1909, contains the information that "Our own orthodox rank and file do not understand indefinite detention." A previous letter of that year dated May 5, informed the Viceroy that "some 150 members of Parliament have written to Asquith protesting against Deportation. Asquith will give them a judicious reply, but you will not be able to deport any more of your suspects—that is quite clear." In more recent years, no "pretty heavy gale," or even a light breeze, has blown up in the House of Commons about deportation, nor have any group of members of parliament protested against the detention of hundreds of suspects without trial, partly because of the pre-occupation of the war and partly because Britishers have grown callous and accustomed to Austrian and Russian methods. The same year 1909, on January 13, the Secretary of State wrote a letter to the Viceroy, which lays down principles which, if observed in recent times, would have prevented much injustice. We quote a paragraph.

One last word about the eternal subject of Deportation. I chanced to spy a sentence the other day in a letter of — (not to me) which ran as follows: "I have not the slightest doubt of his [Native's] very dangerous influence as an organiser, and of his sympathy with acts of violence." I confess that it alarms me that a capable man like him should suppose that the fact of his having no doubt of another man's sympathy with something constitutes the shadow of a justification for locking him up without charge or trial. You may take my word for it, my dear Viceroy, that if we do not use this harsh weapon with the utmost care and scruple—always, where the material is dubious, giving the suspected man the benefit of the doubt—you may depend upon it, I say, that both you and I will be called to severe account, even

by the people who are now applauding us (quite rightly) for vigour. It is just some momentary slip in vigilance that has often upset appereances and damaged political reputations, if reputations matter.

There are passages in the *Recollections* which go to show that Lord Morley sanctioned deportation only as a temporary and very exceptional measure, and that he did not like it. The following paragraph taken from a letter dated November 5, 1909, is one such :

I won't follow you into Deportation. You state your case with remarkable force, I admit. But then I comfort myself, in my disquiet at differing from you, by the reflection that perhaps the Spanish Viceroy in the Netherlands, the Austrian Viceroy in Venice, the Bourbon in the two Sicilies, and a Governor or two in the old American Colonies, used reasoning not wholly dissimilar and not much less forcible. Forgive this affronting parallel. It is only the sally of a man who is himself occasionally compared to Strafford, King John, King Charles, Nero, and Tiberius.

Another letter, dated January 27, 1910, is not less outspoken : We will quote the whole of the extract given in the *Recollections*.

This brings me to Deportees. The question between us two upon this matter may, if we don't take care, become what the Americans would call ugly. I won't repeat the general arguments about Deportation. I have fought against those here who regarded such a resort to the Regulation of 1818 as indefensible. So, *per contra*, I am ready just as stoutly to fight those who wish to make this arbitrary detention for indefinite periods a regular weapon of government. Now your present position is beginning to approach this. You have nine men locked up a year ago by *lettre de cachet*, because you expected their arrest to check these plots. For a certain time it looked as if the *coup* were effective, and were justified by the result. In all this, I think, we were perfectly right. Then you come by and by upon what you regard as a great anarchist conspiracy for sedition and murder, and you warn me that you may soon apply to me for sanction of further arbitrary arrest and detention on a large scale. I ask whether this process implies that through the nine *detenus* you have found out a murder-plot contrived, not by them, but by other people. You say, "We admit that being locked up they can have had no share in these new abominations ; but their continued detention will frighten evil-doers generally." That's the Russian argument : by packing off train-loads of suspects to Siberia we'll terrify the anarchists out of their wits and all will come out right. That policy did not work out brilliantly in Russia, and did not save the lives of the Trepoffs, nor did it save Russia from a Duma, the very thing that the Trepoffs and the rest of the "offs" deprecated and detested.

On February 3 following Morley wrote :

"Your mention of Martial Law in your last private letter really makes my flesh creep. I have imagination enough and sympathy enough, thoroughly to realise the effect on men's minds of the present manifestation of the spirit of murder. But Martial

Law, which is only a fine name for the suspension of all law, would not snuff out murder-clubs in India, any more than the same sort of thing snuffed them out in Italy, Russia, or Ireland. The gang of Dublin invincibles was reorganised when Parnell and the rest were locked up and the Coercion Act in full blast."

We will conclude with an extract from the letter dated December 18, 1908.

"One thing I do beseech you to avoid—a *single case* of investigation in the absence of the accused. We may argue as much as we like about it, and there may be no substantial injustice in it, but it has an ugly continental, Austrian, Russian look about it, which will stir a good deal of doubt or wrath here, quite besides the Radical Ultras."

The British Government in India has, however, recently made so much progress towards Austrianism and Russianism that in all cases of detention without trial it has been made the invariable practice to investigate in the absence of the accused, and an ex-Judge and a Judge of the Bombay and Calcutta High Courts have brought forward specious arguments in support of this procedure. What is the next development ?

Are Caste Electorates feasible and practicable in Bengal ?

Caste electorates for the Hindus are demanded not by the Hindu castes themselves but by the Europeans of Bengal. The Europeans and Eurasians are numerically very small, and are each divided into more than a dozen castes which they call denominations, as the following table will shew :—

Denomination	Europeans	Eurasians
Roman Catholics	5,300	12,100
Anglicans	14,300	7,700
Armenians	700	0
Baptists	600	500
Congregationalists	100	100
Greeks	200	0
Lutherans	200	0
Methodists	500	400
Presbyterians, etc.	2,700	900

Europeans include Germans, Austrians, Bulgarians and Russians.

If caste electorates must be imposed upon the Hindus against their wishes, why should not denominational electorates be accepted by the Europeans from whom the suggestion has proceeded ? They have separate priests and separate burial grounds, etc. It is only the lowest Hindu castes which have separate priests ; but the burning ground is the same for all Hindus. Nor can it be said that whereas

the Hindu castes do not intermarry, Europeans and Eurasians of all denominations do as a rule freely intermarry.

Caste electorates are impracticable for the Hindus, because most of the castes are numerically so small as not to be entitled to an entire member. If 50 elected members be thrown open to eighteen millions of Hindus living in rural Bengal, a caste ought to be 400,000 strong in order to deserve one full member. So all castes which number less than 400,000 people must remain unenfranchised. If two or more castes be clubbed together to make up 400,000 people and become entitled to an entire member, the very object with which separate caste electorates are advocated in the place of a general electoral roll on the basis of territorial units, will be defeated.

Caste electorates are impracticable in Bengal for the prime reason that every caste is scattered over nearly all the Districts of the Bengal presidency. We shall take the case of the Namasudras, of whom so much political capital has been sought to be made by the Europeans of Calcutta. They number about 1,960,000 people and are scattered over all Districts of Bengal, excepting Chittagong Hills, and more than 5,000 are to be found in 20 districts. They cannot be brought together to polling stations without dragging them far away from their homes and encouraging false personation.

SRINATH DUTT.

Professor Newman on India's Destiny.

The following extracts from Prof. F. W. Newman's *Memoirs* will be found interesting :—

"It is rare indeed that an Englishman looks at India as Francis Newman looked at it fifty years ago—probably longer—he put his finger on exactly the spot which today is the crux which most puzzles and baffles politicians. In social and intellectual questions his were the clear-sighted, far-focussed eyes that reached beyond the measures of most men's minds. He saw clearly, fifty years ago, that India was drawing ever closer and closer to an inevitable terminus. That she was beginning to recognise, every year more definitely, her ultimate destination—was beginning to realise, too, that her foreign rulers were aware also of that terminus, but were not very anxious that she should reach it. Nay, were practically rather joggling her elbow to prevent her becoming so conscious of the direction in which the tide of affairs was drifting.

"Nevertheless it is becoming more and more patent to every one who really studies the question impartially that things are not what they were fifty or sixty years ago; that a critical juncture is drawing

ever nearer and nearer—a juncture which inevitably will mean great changes for the governed and the governors.

"Even the slow-moving East does move appreciably in half a century, when centres of education are doing their best to train Indians in European ideas of civilisation, in European ideas of government, and of the authority which learning gives. We cannot expect to educate and yet leave those we educate exactly where we find them; for with education comes invariably, inevitably, the growth of ideas planted by it,—their growth, and no less inevitable fruition. To show someone all that is to be gained by reaching forward, and then to expect him not to reach, but to remain quiescent, is the act of a fool.

".....It is true that we have done much—very much for India.....we have lifted her up—yes, but here is where the mental shoe pinches—we have insisted on preventing her from reaching her full stature. We have trained her sons to be able to work side by side with ourselves in various official duties; and then when they are desirous—as is indeed only the inevitable consequence of their education—of entering the lists side by side with Englishmen, they find there is no crossing the rubicon which officially divides the two nations.....

"Whenever the question of co-operation and sympathy comes up, as from time to time it does, between Englishmen and Indians, whether it is fifty or sixty years ago, in Newman's day, or now in the year of grace 1909, with a few honourable exceptions, the answer is identically the same. It is practically an unknown quantity. The East and West have not really met. Still the ranks of the service are absorbed by Englishmen; still, as all educated Indians protest, the "true centre of gravity for India is in London"; still India is unrepresented in...Customs, Post, Survey, Telegraph, Excise, &c., and also in the commissioned ranks of the Army; still, because district administration is to all intents and purposes not in existence, there is no compulsory education for boys and girls, though most educated Indians are very strongly in favour of it."—*Memoir and Letters of Francis W. Newman*: by I. Giberne Sieveking. London, Kegan Paul, 1909, Chap. XVI.

The Permanent Settlement of Bengal.

In continuation of what has been written on this subject in the February number of this review, the following will be found interesting. At the head of chapter XV of *'Empire in Asia: How we came by it: A Book of Confessions'* by W. M. Torrens, M. P. (Trubner and Co, 1872), the following is quoted from Lord Cornwallis' Minute on Land Settlement, dated 10th February, 1790:

"Bengal is one of the most fertile countries on the face of the globe. . . Its real value to us depends upon the continuance of its ability to furnish a large annual investment to Europe, to give considerable assistance to the treasury at Calcutta, and to supply the pressing and extensive wants of the other presidencies. The consequences of the heavy drains of wealth from the above causes, with the addition of that which has been occasioned by the remittance of private fortunes, have been for many years past, and are now severely felt by the great diminution of the current specie, and by the languor which has thereby been thrown upon

the cultivation and the general commerce of the country. A very material alteration in the principles of our system of management has therefore become indispensably necessary, in order to restore the country to a state of prosperity, and to enable it to continue to be a solid support to British interests and power in this part of the world."

Mr. Torrens comments on the above as follows:

"That the primary sentiment which influenced the framing of the Bengal Settlement was not the prosperity of the country, is clearly indicated by the passage quoted at the head of this chapter from the elaborate minute drawn up by the Governor-General, Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, the first of which provinces had, under native rule, been designated as 'the paradise of nations,' were only valuable as they were able to supply the holders of India stock with large dividends, to support an expensive government, backed by an army of occupation, and to recoup a treasury exhausted by wanton and wasteful wars elsewhere. Maladministration by encroaching power had sapped the financial resources of the country, and damaged the whole machinery of revenue."

As for the moderation or otherwise of the assessment, the following is the opinion of Torrens:

The permanent land assessment of the Bengal provinces was ten-elevenths of the assumed rental, a calculation only based on a mere rough and ready valuation, that was presumed to fall considerably short of the actual rental and value, though how far no care was taken to ascertain. Such a charge upon a *bonafide value would have been indeed ruinous and preposterous* (italics ours); but the real value of the land was two or three times greater than the nominal one for assessment."

The valuation, for the purposes of the assessment, was commenced in 1787, and completed in 1789, and Mr. Holt Mackenzie in his report said:

"Our settlements were made in haste, on general surmises; on accounts never believed to be accurate, and never brought to any clear test of accuracy; on the offers of speculators and the bidding of rivals; on the suggestions of enemies; on the statements of candidates for employment, seeking credit with the Government by discoveries against the people (italics ours); on information of all kinds, generally worthless....."

The valuation might under such circumstances be inaccurate, but it was hardly likely to err on the side of leniency towards the assesses. Mr. Sidney Low, in his book, *A Vision of India* (ch. xxiii), says that by the Permanent Settlement Indian zemindars 'were given all the rights of English landlords' with regard to the land, but that 'in the rest of India, the mistakes of the eighteenth century legislators, hidebound in the traditions of English real-property law, were avoided.' It will thus appear that the status of Indian zemindars in the permanently set-

tled districts is not different from that of English landlords.

The following opinions also on the permanent settlement of Bengal will be found interesting:—

"They [the landlords] are made to feel in a score of ways that their presence is an offence to a Government which exists for the 'protection of the people,' and so they are subjected to all sorts of imposts and restraints. They are forced to give terms and conditions to their tenants which the Government steadily refuses to those ryots who hold land direct from itself. Government officials tell of the exactions which the zemindars take from the ryots, and how but for the intervention of the Government they would make the lot of the peasant unendurable; and yet, strange as it may seem, I did not meet a single case of a cultivating ryot, and I met hundreds of them, who did not prefer to hold his land from a zemindar rather than hold it direct from the sircar. There is a human element present in the one case which is wholly absent in the other." (Keir Hardie, *India*, p. 94).

"An enormously wealthy class (?) of zemindars has been created, and the custom of official bleeding by offering them C.I.E.'s and other decorations for subscriptions to the hobbies of collectors and Lieutenant-Governors has grown up as a substitute for the more direct way of obtaining public revenue by a land assessment." (Ramsay Macdonald, *Awakening of India*, Pop. Ed., p. 98).

The gradual extension of the Government Khas Mehals is also encroaching on the permanently settled tracts.

Seeking the Gratitude of Foreign Rulers, and Patriotism.

The Indian Daily News writes:

Says the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*.—"It is a historical fact that it was with the help of the Bengalees that the early English settlers made themselves masters of Bengal and Behar." Were we a Bengali, we should be ashamed to boast of the fact—if it is a fact.

Exactly. But did the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* "boast of the fact"? Perhaps the *Patrika* wanted to excite the gratitude of the foreign rulers of the country. But even for that purpose one would shrink from mentioning such a "fact". It is immaterial for our present purpose to discuss whether it is a fact.

Ideal Governors for Ireland and for India!

Lord Morley writes in his *Recollections*, Vol. II, p. 232, 'I have often told you of my wicked thought that Strafford was an ideal type, both for governor of Ireland in the seventeenth century, and governor of India in the twentieth. Only they cut off poor Strafford's head, and his idea of government has been in mighty disfavour ever since.If a man's harangue provokes a riot, why don't they lock him up

for riot? Have they not police enough? If not police, what then has become of the "obligatory garison"?

Freedom and Subjection.

There are many civilised countries, including the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in which, many newspapers write recklessly, with an utter disregard for truth; they write violently, sometimes inciting men to use force; they write in such a way as to set class against class; they attack the government of their country virulently. But there are no press laws there like those existing in India. The plain and main reason of this difference is that India is looked upon and governed as a subject country, with the intention that it should be so governed as long as possible. What an Englishman in power would tolerate if it came from a British editor "at home" or in India, would enrage him coming from an Indian editor.

We do not plead that editors should be chartered libertines. What is wanted is that only when they are thought to have actually offended, they should be openly tried and punished or acquitted.

The beauty of our press laws is that even before a man has offended or thought of offending, he may be, as many have been, called upon to deposit some money as security for good behaviour. What still further heightens this beauty is that this is done solely at the sweet will of the executive. The man who is imagined to be a would-be culprit is given no hearing. No doubt, editors are mightily pleased and their self-respect is immensely increased when they find themselves thus classed with the criminal dregs of society. Another beautiful feature of our press laws is that when a printer removes his business to a new address, or when the place of publication of a newspaper is changed, the printer or the publisher is liable to deposit a sum of money as security. Many printers and publishers have had to do this. The most beautiful feature of the press laws is that when the money deposited as security has been forfeited to Government, a *nominal* remedy lies in an appeal to the High Court, but not one of the few appeals hitherto made at very heavy expense has been successful. The illusory character of the remedy was thoroughly exposed by Sir Lawrence Jenkins, late Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court, in the *Comrade*

case. So the press laws have made the irresponsible will of the executive supreme.

Printers, publishers and editors should be treated just like other men. They should be free to pursue their respective avocations so long as they do not offend. But if Government must needs discriminate against them, they should have a hearing, with the further right of appeal, whenever security is demanded, increased, or forfeited. This is the least that can be tolerated.

Indians are not a more criminal or turbulent people than the inhabitants of other civilised countries where there is no Arms Act like that which exists here. In these civilised countries there occasionally occur rebellions, riots, armed robberies, murders, &c.; but the people are not permanently disarmed, as Indians practically have been. The cause of this difference is to be sought in our subjection. All other causes alleged are mere cant. In our disarmed condition we suffer both from lawless men and wild animals. It is imaginable that by making the arms laws very stringent and by extraordinary watch kept over manufacturers of arms in India and on their imports, both law-abiding and law-breaking men may be kept deprived of arms, though this has not yet been found practicable. But wild animals have natural weapons of which they cannot be deprived; they can only be exterminated,—of which there is no sign yet. So we must continue to run the risk of falling a prey to wild men and wild animals. Men unaccustomed to self-defence and conscious of a feeling of helplessness cannot but grow timid. This is emasculation. As Europeans and Eurasians can and do have arms freely, the juxtaposition of armed and disarmed sections of the population makes the former arrogant, violent and reckless and the latter unmanly and timid. The remedy does not lie in requiring both sections of the people to take out licenses before being able to purchase arms. For that would simply be a nominal equality. Magistrates would freely grant licenses to Europeans and Eurasians, and refuse them almost as freely to Indians. Nor is this a mere assumption. The press laws are meant both for Indian-owned and British-owned newspapers, but has a single British-owned paper suffered, in spite of the rabid writings of many of them, as against the hundreds of Indian-owned papers which have suffer-

ed or been handicapped? The real remedy has often been suggested by the Congress and the Moslem League. It will also naturally suggest itself to the highest servants of the crown when by granting internal autonomy to India they are able to slake off the suspicion that the first use of arms which the people would make would be to rebel against the British Government.

The Pioneer has given currency to the rumour that the Government of India would soon place before the Imperial Council a Bill drafted on the lines of the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee. There is no doubt that Government are in a position to pass such a Bill. There is even every probability that the majority of nominated and elected Indian members would vote for it,—whether from reasoned and honest conviction, or from lack of real statesmanship, or from absence of the requisite degree of love of civic liberty, or from nervousness, we cannot say. Our clear opinion is that such a Bill is not only not required, but that its results would be harmful. Where the real remedy is citizenship, masterful men are disposed to find a substitute in Coercion. Coercion and Crimes Acts have failed in Italy, Russia, Ireland, &c. But the Anglo-Indian bureaucrat believes that as India is a peculiar country and as Indian nature is different from human nature elsewhere, "lawless laws" are bound to succeed here. However, supposing that success is attained, the question would be, at what cost?

Morley, as quoted before, speaks of the risk of plucking up the tares and the wheat indiscriminately. The risk is very real. But Anglo-Indian bureaucrats can afford to take the risk with a light heart, because the human wheat plucked up would not be any of them. But curses have a curious way of coming home to roost.

One of the serious problems for statesmanship to solve is how to repress crime and at the same time to keep up and foster the civic spirit. In free countries, nothing is done, except temporarily, which is likely to impair the civic spirit. Therefore statesmen in free countries have found successful remedies for increasing turbulence and criminality in widening the bounds of freedom, as the previous and subsequent history of the many Reform Acts in Great Britain show. But in subject countries the pre-occupation of the rulers

is, not how to keep up and foster the spirit of citizenship, but how to keep the people in subjection, miscalled maintaining order. Therefore repression looms larger in their eyes than measures for enfranchising the people. A compromise in the shape of Coercion-cum-Conciliation also occasionally suggests itself to them. It was tried during the Morley-Minto regime, but with what consequences? Repression is thought of as a main weapon only because the rulers have not either the heart or the courage or the faith in human nature or the statesmanship to make the Reforms adequate. The futility of a small dose of Reform plus a big dose of Repression is patent to all students of history and of human nature.

In Ireland there have been during the war greater rebellions and conspiracies than in India. There are also no Arms Act and press laws in Ireland. But nevertheless no Rowlatt Committee have sat there to suggest "lawless laws" as a permanent feature of the laws of the land. The Defence of the Realm Act is not to have a permanent place in the British or the Irish statute book, but the Defence of India Act may have such a place in the Indian statute book. What is the reason? The reason is to be found in the almost complete freedom of Ireland and the almost complete subjection of India.

The arguments for repressive laws are hard to meet. If they fail, it is urged that they would succeed if made more drastic and stringent, and so should they be made. If they succeed, it is argued that they should be perpetuated, as, if they were abolished, crime would again raise its head.

Externment of Mr. P. J. Mehta.

Mr. P. J. Mehta is a wealthy and public-spirited citizen (or should we not say "subject"?) of Rangoon. He is the secretary of the Burma Provincial Congress Committee. His importance in the public life of the province was recognised by Sir Harcourt Butler by his nomination to sit on two committees to deal with vaccination and with the grievances of deck passengers to Burma. He is an anti-vaccinationist. But that is neither sedition, nor rebellion. He wrote a dissenting minute to the report of the deck passengers' grievance committee. But that was a thoroughly constitutional act. He spoke up for Mr. M. K. Gandhi against the

un-just criticisms of Sir Reginald Craddock. But Mr. M. K. Gandhi is not an outlaw. Mr. Mehta has formed a social service league. But that also is thoroughly constitutional. All his activities have been above board, open and constitutional. Wherein, then, lay his offence that he should have been ordered to be extened within 24 hours,—and that, too, at a time when he lay in a precarious condition in hospital after undergoing a serious operation? Sir Reginald Craddock ought to tell the public why he has passed such an order. The Defence of India Act has given him the power to do what he likes. But it has given him no power to compel people to believe that whatever he does is just and necessary. Public opinion cannot be coerced or controlled; it cannot even be influenced in his favour unless he condescends to give reasons. And in the long run public opinion is a power even in India and Burma.

He has stopped the circulation of some Indian papers in his province, as Sir M. O'Dwyer has in the Panjab. But these are confessions of failure to govern in an enlightened manner. Criticisms which are allowed to be circulated in other provinces may have been prevented from circulating in the Panjab and Burma, either because the governors of these two provinces are more autocratic and touchy than the governors of the other provinces, or because the administrations of these two offer more points of criticism than those of others. Another reason has been assigned as regards the Panjab, *viz.*, that the nature or the education or the want of education of the Panjabi is such that criticism which is innocuous elsewhere would be productive of dangerous consequences there. Panjabis have rightly repudiated this untrue suggestion. But were it true, it would only mean that the Panjab Government had not been able to educate and make the Panjabis reasonable as the other provincial governments had done with regard to their charges. Should a similar argument be adduced in support of the Burma Government, the reply would be similar to the above. For the nature of the Panjabi and the Burman is fundamentally the same as that of other men.

The order of externment passed on Mr. Mehta shows the dangers of perpetuating the provisions of the Defence of India Act, as any public-spirited man may be subject-

ed to civil death by means of such an Act. The dangerous and arbitrary character of these provisions have also been conspicuously brought out by the conviction and imprisonment of four members of the social service league at Rangoon who are alleged to have told some coolies to stick out for higher wages than they had been getting. The ground of the conviction is said to be that these four gentlemen were by their action obstructing the prosecution of the war. But in Great Britain and the Dominions there have been, during the war, numerous strikes for higher wages, including one of London Policemen; but those who stuck out for higher wages only got better terms, not imprisonment; nor were their advisers and advocates in the press and on the platform brought to trial and deprived of liberty. So what is not an offence in a free country is a crime in a subject country.

The retrograde, dangerous and barbarising tendency of permanent repressive laws can be understood by members of legislative bodies, if they have sufficient statesmanship, sufficient love of civic freedom, and sufficient imagination to realise the miseries and moral and material loss of those who undeservedly suffer from such laws. But probably many legislators do not believe that any persons have suffered unjustly. Were we of that opinion, we would still object in theory to the punishment of men without due trial, on account of the greater probability of innocent men suffering therefrom than if the usual judicial procedure were followed.

No one should wish that the real character of laws on the lines of the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee should be brought home to our legislators by the undeserved internment or deportation of some of their near and dear ones. But there may be some among them to whom a pin-prick applied to their bodies is a greater grievance than sword-cuts on others' limbs. If such there be, may they be blessed with gifts of greater sympathy and imagination!

Supersession of two Municipalities in Bengal.

The commissioners of the Burdwan and the Hughly-Chinsura Municipalities have been superseded by the Bengal Government for one year. The orders of the Government in the two cases are quoted below.

BURDWAN.

5. After the most careful consideration, the Government of Bengal have come to the conclusion that the maladministration of the Burdwan Municipality is a grave public scandal which cannot be allowed to continue. It has been clearly demonstrated that the Municipal Commissioners have abused their powers and proved themselves incompetent to conduct the administration of the Municipality; and, in the opinion of the Governor in Council, it is only by their supersession, in exercise of the special powers of control vested in Government, that the administration can be reformed and the interests of the rate-payers safeguarded. The Governor in Council is, therefore, constrained to declare by this order, issued under section 65 of the Bengal Municipal Act, that the Commissioners of the Burdwan Municipality are incompetent to perform their duties and have abused their powers, and he directs that they be superseded for a period of one year with effect from the date of the publication of this Resolution in the *Calcutta Gazette*. In exercise of the powers conferred by section 66 of the Act, the Governor in Council further directs that all the powers and duties of the Commissioners shall, during the period of supersession, be exercised and performed by the District Magistrate of Burdwan.

HOOGHLY-CHINSURA.

10. After the most careful consideration, the Government of Bengal have come to the conclusion that the Municipal Commissioners have persistently made default in the performance of their duties and have proved themselves incompetent to conduct the administration of the Municipality. They have been treated for years past with great patience, but have deliberately neglected the warnings and instruction given to them; and the Governor in Council is reluctantly forced to decide that temporary supersession is necessary in the interests of the rate-payers themselves.

In these circumstances, the Governor in Council declares by this order issued under section 65 of the Bengal Municipal Act, that the Commissioners of the Hooghly-Chinsura Municipality are incompetent to perform and persistently make default in the performance of their duties, and he directs that they be superseded for the period of one year with effect from the date of the publication of this Resolution in the *Calcutta Gazette*. In exercise of the powers conferred by section 66 of the Act, the Governor further directs that all the powers and duties of the Commissioners shall, during the period of supersession, be exercised and performed by the District Magistrate of Hooghly for the time being.

As we are not aware of what the commissioners of these municipalities have to say in self-defence, we are unable to consider the charges preferred against them. If they have a case, they ought to publish a statement signed by all of them in reply to the Government Resolutions.

There is an impression abroad that, like the publication of the Rowlatt Committee's report at the present juncture, these Resolutions, superseding municipalities, are part of a bureaucratic campaign against the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform

Scheme, their object being to show that as Bengalis are unfit to manage their local affairs even in such advanced districts as Burdwan and Hooghly, it would be unwise and premature to entrust them with larger powers of self-government. It has been also surmised that if Sir S. P. Sinha had been in charge of the local self-government portfolio instead of the Maharajahdiraj of Burdwan, the supersession of these municipalities would not have taken place. We cannot say how much of truth there may be in such suppositions.

From the Government Resolutions it would appear that the affairs of Burdwan had been more grossly mismanaged than those of Hooghly-Chinsura.

Though for want of information we are unable to examine the charges against these municipalities, we may say that taking them to be true, less drastic remedies than supersession ought to have been tried. For instance, official chairmen and secretaries might have been appointed. If it were thought that official chairmen and secretaries could not bring about a change for the better in the administration of the two municipalities with the co-operation of or in spite of the obstruction of the present body of commissioners, Government could have ordered a fresh election of commissioners, disqualifying the present ones for re-election.

As indicated above, we are unable either to defend or to condemn these municipalities outright. But that out of more than a hundred municipalities in Bengal these two have been singled out for supersession, would go to show that these had been less efficiently worked than the others. Their fate ought to be a warning to others. And when municipal government is restored after a year to these towns, the rate-payers ought to be more careful in the selection of commissioners and in keeping them up to the work.

Taking it for granted that they have failed to do their duties, wrong conclusions ought not to be drawn from such failure. It ought not to be concluded either by our own countrymen or by outsiders that Bengalis are unfit to manage municipal affairs. In the vast majority of municipalities they have succeeded tolerably well. But even if there had been failure in the majority of municipalities, that would not prove any inherent incapacity. Lord Durham's Report states that

in Canada, now the foremost of the self-governing British Dominions, on the eve of her obtaining self-government,

"In the rural districts habits of self-government were almost unknown and education is so scantily diffused as to render it difficult to procure a sufficient number of persons competent to administer the functions that would be created by a general scheme of popular local control."

Who would have thought at that time that self-government would ever be successful in Canada? The Filipinos have received fully responsible self-government within 18 years of the American occupation of their country. But only 11 years ago, Governor General Smith in his message of October 16, 1907, to the inaugural session of the Philippine Legislature summed up conditions as follows:

"In many of the municipalities the expenditures of public money have been unwise, not to say wasteful. In 88 municipalities out of 685 the entire revenue was expended for salaries and not a single cent was devoted to public betterments or improvements....."

"Two hundred and twenty-six municipalities spent on public works less than 10 per cent. Such a condition of affairs is to be deplored, and the commission was obliged to pass a law within the last few months prohibiting municipalities from spending for salaries more than a fixed percentage of their revenues."

Redlich and Hirst's book on *Local Government in England* contains extracts from the report of a parliamentary commission, dated 1835, regarding the municipalities and boroughs of that period, from which a few sentences may be quoted:

"In general the corporate funds are but partially applied to municipal purposes, such as the preservation of the peace by an efficient police, or in watching or lighting the town, &c.; but they are frequently expended in feasting, and in paying salaries of unimportant officers. In some cases, in which the funds are expended on public purposes, such as building public works, or other objects of local improvement, an expense has been incurred much beyond what would be necessary if due care had been taken."

The same book states that the parliamentary commission referred to above reported in 1835 regarding local bodies that "revenues that ought to be applied for the public advantage are diverted from their legitimate use and are sometimes wastefully bestowed for the benefit of individuals, sometimes squandered for purposes injurious to the character and morals of the people." Such a deplorable state of things could not prevent local self-government from flourishing in England in course of time.

Not infrequently it has been officially alleged that District Magistrates are

terribly overworked, and that is also one of the main grounds on which the partition of districts has been advocated and carried out. It is, therefore, curious to find the overburdened District Magistrates of Burdwan and Hooghly entrusted with the working of two of the biggest municipalities in Bengal. Could not a better way be found? Is it certain that, because the Bengal Government are not likely to find fault with the work of their own Magistrates, therefore municipal work is sure to be carried on by them efficiently?

Presidentship of the coming Congress.

Mr. B. G. Tilak, who was elected to preside over the coming Delhi Session of the Congress, having left for England and signified his inability to accept the office, it has become necessary to choose another president. We think in the circumstances Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is the fittest man to preside. We hope he will be unanimously elected.

The Reform Committees.

Government have appointed the two committees to consider and report on the question of electorates and the franchise and the question of dividing "subjects" into "reserved" and "transferred." *Self-determination* required that the people of India should appoint the committees; it required that the committees should consist entirely of Indians elected by their countrymen; it required that, as the next best thing, the majority of members should be elected Indians; it required that in any case Indians, however or by whomsoever chosen, should form the majority; it required that whether Indians were in a majority or in a minority, they should represent the main shades of constitutional political opinion in the country. The nominations do not satisfy any of these requirements. Therefore so far as India is concerned, self-determination is a word which may be taken as not uttered by any British or Allied statesman. Reuter ought not to have cabled this myth out to India.

So far as Musalmans are concerned, the Moslem League represents the articulate Muhammadan political opinion of India. There has not been any secession from the Moslem League as there has been from the Congress. But Government have not appointed any Musalman who represents the views of the Moslem League. The

Musalman, which is we believe the only existing English organ of Indian Musalmans, writes thus about the two Muhammadan members of the two committees :

"Sahebzada Aftab Ahmad Khan was never a politician and he himself acknowledged when he left India, on his appointment to the India Office, that politics was a thing in which he was more or less a novice. Moreover, the Muslims think that the political views of the gentleman, if any, are not in consonance with those of the community."

"Khan Bahadur Moulvi Rahim Baksh presided at the Rawalpindi session of the All-India Mohamedan Educational Conference and this was the first time that we came to know of him. If a person is not widely known, that does not however disqualify him for membership of a responsible committee. So far as we are aware, Moulvi Rahim Baksh's politics also is not of the right sort. He does not share the views of the progressive section of his community and accordingly the latter has scarcely any confidence in him."

The Hindu members belong to the group of politicians who have seceded from the Congress. As the Congress includes both Home Rulers and a considerable body of Moderates, and as the seceders consist only of the remaining Moderates, the Congress may be justly presumed to represent the majority of educated and politically-minded Indians. And it is this class of Indians, represented by the Congress, which Government have entirely ignored.

For all these reasons the constitution of the committees must be pronounced unsatisfactory. Practically they are packed committees.

We cannot say whether the Indian members will or will not act with the welfare of India as their only object in view. There is no positive evidence to show that they will be swayed by personal considerations. But at the same time one need not assume that they all will be or have been able to resist official blandishments. It is best to hold judgment in suspense.

President Wilson's September Speech.

The speech delivered by President Wilson in the last week of September, on the eve of the opening of the United States fourth Liberty Loan, was a most momentous one. We give below a few extracts from it.

The issues are these—Shall the military power of any nation or group of nations be suffered to determine the fortunes of the peoples over whom they have no right to rule except the right of force? Shall strong nations be free to wrong weak nations and make them subject to their purposes and interests? Shall the people be ruled and dominated even in their

own internal affairs by arbitrary and irresponsible force or by their own will and choice? Shall there be a common standard of right and privilege for all peoples and nations or shall the strong do as they will and the weak suffer without redress? Shall the assertion of right be haphazard and by casual alliance or shall there be a common concert to oblige the observance of common rights?

No man, no group of men chose these to be the issues of the struggle. They are the issues of it and they must be settled by no arrangement or compromise or adjustment of interests, but definitely and once for all and with the full unequivocal acceptance of the principle that the interest of the weakest is as sacred as the interest of the strongest. This is what we mean when we speak of permanent peace, if we speak sincerely and intelligently and with the real knowledge and comprehension of the matter we deal with.

India is keenly interested in the answer which the British cabinet may give to these questions asked by Dr. Wilson. He clearly expressed the opinion that there must not be any compromise with avowed principles.

It is of capital importance that we should also be explicitly agreed that no peace shall be obtained by any kind of compromise or abatement of principles we have avowed as the principles for which we are fighting. There should exist no doubt about that. I am, therefore, going to take the liberty of speaking with the utmost frankness about the tactical complications that are involved in it. If it be indeed and in truth the common object of the Governments associated against Germany and of the nations whom they govern, as I believe it to be, to achieve by coming settlements a secure and lasting peace, it will be necessary that all who sit down at the peace table shall come ready and willing to pay the price, the only price that will procure it, and ready and willing also, to create in some virile fashion the only instrumentality whereby it can be made certain that the agreements of peace will be honoured and fulfilled.

That price is impartial justice in every item of settlement, no matter whose interest is crossed, and not only impartial justice, but also satisfaction of the several peoples whose fortunes are dealt with. That indispensable instrumentality is the League of Nations formed under covenants that will be efficacious. Without such an instrumentality, whereby the peace of the world can be guaranteed, peace will rest in part on the word of outlaws and only upon that word.

The essentials of peace were stated by Dr. Willson authoritatively as representing the U. S. Government's interpretation of its own duty with regard to peace, as follows :

Firstly, the impartial justice meted out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just. It must be a justice that plays no favourites and knows no standards, but the equal rights of the several peoples concerned.

Secondly, no separate or special interest of any single nation or any group of nations can be made the basis of any part of the settlement, which is not consistent with the common interest of all.

Thirdly, there can be no leagues or alliances or special covenants and understandings within the general and common family of the League of Nations.

Fourthly, and more specifically, there can be no special selfish economic combinations within the League and no employment of any form of economic boycott or exclusion except as a power of economic penalty by exclusion from the markets of the world may be vested in the League of Nations itself as a means of discipline and control.

Fifthly, all international agreements and treaties of every kind must be made known in their entirety to the rest of the world. Special alliances and economic rivalries and hostilities have been the prolific source in the modern world of passions that produce war. It would be an insincere, as well as an insecure peace that did not exclude them in definite binding terms.

The president of the United States explained very frankly and clearly why he felt it necessary to restate American war aims and to describe again the essentials of peace.

I have made this analysis of the international situation, which the war has created, not, of course, because I doubted whether the leaders of the great nations and peoples with whom we are associated were of the same mind and entertained a like purpose, but because the air every now and again gets darkened by mists and groundless doubting and mischievous perversions of counsel and it is necessary once and again to sweep all irresponsible talk about peace intrigues, weakening of morale and doubtful purpose on the part of those in authority utterly and, if need be, unceremoniously aside and say things in the plainest words that can be found even when it is only to say over again what has been said before quite as plainly, if in less varnished terms.

As I have said, neither I nor any other man in Governmental authority created or gave form to the issues of this war. I have simply responded to them with such vision as I could command, but I have responded gladly and with the resolution that has grown warm and more confident as the issues have grown clearer and clearer. It is now plain that they are issues which no man can prevent unless it be wilfully. I am bound to fight for them and fight for them as time and circumstances have revealed them to me as irresistible as they stand out in more and more vivid, unmistakable outline and the forces that fight for them draw into closer and closer array and organise their millions into more and more unconquerable might, as they become more and more distinct to the thought and purpose of peoples engaged.

It is the peculiarity of this great war that while statesmen have seemed to cast about for definitions of their purpose and have sometimes seemed to shift their ground and their point of view, the thought of the mass of men, whom the statesmen are supposed to instruct and lead, has grown more and more unclouded and more and more certain of what it is that they are fighting for. National purposes have fallen more and more into the background and the common purpose of enlightened mankind has taken their place.

The counsels of plain men have become on all hands more simple and straightforward and more unified than the counsels of sophisticated men of affairs, who

still retain the impression that they are playing the game of power and playing for high stakes. That is why I have said that this is a people's war, not a statesmen's. Statesmen must follow the clarified common thought or be broken.

I take that to be the significance of the fact that assemblies and associations of many kinds made up of plain workaday people have demanded, almost every time they have come together, and are still demanding, that the leaders of their Governments shall declare to them plainly what it is exactly and what it is not that they are seeking in this war and what they think the terms of their final settlement should be.

They are not yet satisfied with what they have been told. They still seem to fear that they are getting what they ask for only in statesmen's terms—only in the terms of territorial arrangements and discussions of power and not in terms of broad-shouldered justice and mercy and peace and satisfaction of those deep-seated longings of oppressed and distracted men and women and enslaved peoples, that seem to them the only things worth fighting a war for, that engulfs the world.

Perhaps, statesmen have not always recognised this aspect of the whole world of policy and action. Perhaps, they have not always spoken in direct reply to the question asked, because they did not know how searching these questions were and what sort of answers they demanded. But I for one am glad to attempt the answer again and again in the hope that I may make it clearer and clearer, that my one thought is to satisfy those who struggle in the ranks and are, perhaps, above all others, entitled to a reply, the meaning of which no one can have any excuse for misunderstanding, if he understands the language in which it is spoken or can get someone to translate it correctly into his own. And I believe that the leaders of Governments with which we are associated, will speak as they have occasion as plainly as I have tried to speak. I hope that they will feel free to say whether they think I am in any degree mistaken in my interpretation of the issues involved or in my purpose, with regard to the means by which a highly satisfactory settlement of these issues may be obtained.

President Wilson said that he made this analysis of the international situation not because he doubted whether the leaders of the great nations and peoples with whom the American people were associated were of the same mind and entertained a like purpose. This was said quite like a faithful and generous ally. And this ought, therefore, to have been responded to in a fitting manner by the leaders of the British and other allied nations. But Reuter has not cabled to us either the views of the British press or the views of the British ministers and other statesmen on Dr. Wilson's speech. This is significant for two reasons: on other occasions Reuter invariably cables out the opinions of the British press whenever a British statesman or allied statesman makes an important speech; the second reason is that Anglo-Indian papers like the *Englishman*

have openly written against Dr. Wilson's speech. It is also significant that no British minister has yet acted up to the suggestion of the American president contained in the following sentences of his speech :

"And I believe that the leaders of Governments with which we are associated, will speak as they have occasion as plainly as I have tried to speak. I hope that they will feel free to say whether they think I am in any degree mistaken in my interpretation of the issues involved or in my purpose, with regard to the means by which a highly satisfactory settlement of these issues may be obtained."

"Union for Freedom."

The Review of Reviews for May contained the following paragraph :

An important Congress of the representatives of the subject races of Austria took place last month in Rome. The Congress lasted two days, and had the support of many leading Italian politicians, foremost amongst them being Signor Bissolati. England, France and America were represented by Mr. Wickham Steed, M. Franklin Bouillon and Mr. Nelson Gay. An important resolution was passed unanimously, setting forth the views of the oppressed nationalities in opposition to the Germano-Magyar hegemony and recording the following significant agreements between the Italian and Jugo-Slav representatives :—

"1. That the unity and independence of the Jugo-Slav nation is recognised as of vital interest to the Italian nation; and reciprocally.

"2. That the liberation of the Adriatic Sea and its defence against all present and future enemies is of vital interest for both nations.

"3. That territorial controversies shall be settled in a friendly manner on the basis of the principle of nationality, and in such a way to be defined at the conclusion of peace as not to injure the vital interests of the two nations."

The Polish representatives added a declaration asserting that they considered Germany to be the principal enemy of Poland : that the Poles see in the movement of the people for freedom against the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy one of the principal conditions of their independence from Germany.

The insurgent Czecho-Slovaks and Poles have since been recognised by the British and their allies as independent belligerent nations. This is undoubtedly right. But if Rome, where the representatives of the subject races of Austria met, were situated in a country in alliance with Austria, these representatives would have been tried and punished as conspirators, as some Indians were tried and punished in San Francisco. That, we believe, is international law. However, as we are not an independent nation, it may be thought presumptuous on our part to write on international law ;—the Bengali proverb forbids the humble ginger-seller to be curious as to shipping news. Neverthe-

less, one may ask, why if it be proper for the subject races of Austria to look to England, France, Italy and America for help to become *independent*, it should have been considered disgraceful on the part of Mr. S. Subramania Iyer to appeal to President Wilson to help India to obtain, not independence, but only *Home Rule within the British Empire*? Of course, from the point of view of their rulers, all subject races who seek freedom are traitors. But what makes the conduct of a seeker of Home Rule unworthier than that of a seeker of independence?

The note extracted from the Review of Reviews speaks of "the oppressed nationalities" of Austria-Hungary. We do not personally know in what particular manner they are oppressed. But this we know that they have far greater political power than Indians, and that they are more educated and richer, too. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report says that "the immense masses of the people [of India] are poor, ignorant and helpless far beyond the standards of Europe..." (para. 131).

The Present Economic Situation.

The prices of the necessities of life have been already abnormally high for some time past. The failure of the rains in many regions has made the situation very serious. In many districts prices of food-stuffs are much higher than during previous famines. But Government have not declared famine in these regions yet.

Sir George Lowndes and large numbers of other Anglo-Indians think that India has not been hit as hard by the war as the belligerent countries of Europe. It must be admitted that our sufferings are not comparable with those of the Poles, the Belgians and other inhabitants of regions where fighting has actually taken place. But it must also be admitted that in Great Britain no class of men are in such dire straits for food and clothing as very large masses of men are in our country. Have any British men or women committed suicide because of the want of a piece of rag sufficiently long and broad to cover their nakedness? England ought never to have asked for and accepted "free gifts" of 150 crores and 67½ crores of rupees from such a poor country as ours.

During previous famines, only the price of foodstuffs went up, the prices of other necessities did not rise much beyond the

normal. The conditions are much worse now. So the consequences of any outbreak of famine in the immediate future are almost unthinkable in their appalling character. Let us husband our resources, for ourselves and for others, for bad days, should they unfortunately come.

Stopping of Self-rule Deputations.

We have been officially told that the place of Indians now is in India, and that at the proper time they will be allowed to send deputations to England. Yes, at the proper time. When the enemies of Indian reform have thoroughly poisoned the minds of the British public, when the draft of the Indian Reform Bill is ready, when the Reform Committees here have submitted their reports, when, briefly speaking, the whole thing has become something like a settled fact, and when probably the peace terms have been drawn up without their being any authorised representative of India at the Peace Table, Indian deputations may be allowed to proceed to England to plead a lost cause. That would be in entire accord, too, with the spirit of President Wilson's September speech, and, of course, of self-determination.

However, better late than never.

A Generous Gift.

We are glad to say that another English gentleman has sent us a cheque for Rs. 1,500 for the relief of distress caused by the high prices of cloth and other necessities. He writes :—

"I am much distressed at the conditions which, I understand, prevail in many parts of Bengal, and of the inability of the peasantry to secure either proper food or clothing, and I feel it the more because I hold myself a few shares in one of the Jute Companies which have been paying large dividends. I enclose a cheque for Rs. 1500 and would ask you to spend it, for the relief of the suffering, in any way you may think best."

We cordially thank the donor for his generous gift. The sum has been placed at the disposal of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, which has been engaged in relieving suffering for months past.

"A Brahmin Oligarchy."

In a previous issue we have shown that the establishment of Home Rule in India cannot lead to the country being ruled by

a Brahmin Oligarchy, disproving the assertions of Lord Sydenham and other enemies of India. We will give a few more facts in support of our position.

The total population of India is 315,156,396, out of which only 14,598,708 are Brahmins. So Brahmins form a very small minority of the population. But mere numbers may not signify much. People may become dominant by means of wealth, education, and martial qualities. Let us therefore see what the comparative position of Brahmins is in these respects. Brahmins are not the only "warlike race" nor even one of the chief "most warlike races" of India. At present, with the exception of a few sub-sections of the Brahmins in a few provinces, Brahmins do not enjoy any reputation for martial qualities. Hence, there need not be any apprehension of Brahmin supremacy founded on fighting capacity. Then as regards wealth, the Brahmins as a class have never been wealthy, at least not wealthier than many other more numerous classes. Education has next to be considered.

The total number of literates in India is 18,539,578. The total number of Brahmin literates is 2,335,122. Which means that out of 185 lakhs of literates 23 lakhs are Brahmins. But it may be contended that mere literacy is not of much importance, it is literacy in English which is the passport to power, position, distinction and wealth. Let us, then, consider the figures for literacy in English. The total number of persons literate in English in India is 1,670,387, of whom 333,368 are Brahmins. That is to say, out of about 17 lakhs of literates in English a little above 3 lakhs are Brahmins.

The above facts and considerations apply to India as a whole. Let us consider the position of the Brahmins in the Provinces.

In no province do the Brahmins form the majority of the population; in every province there are one or more *Hindu* castes more numerous than Brahmins—not to speak of non-Hindu sections of the people. But the possibility of attaining dominant position depends on the percentage of literacy, and particularly on the percentage of literacy in English of the various castes. In the Census Report these percentages are given. From these statements we find that the Brahmins are either so backward in educa-

tion or so insignificant in numbers, in the provinces of Assam, Baluchistan, Burma and the N.-W. F. Province that there is no mention of them in the figures given for those provinces; that Brahmins do not occupy the first place in education in Bengal, Behar-Orissa, Central Provinces and Berar, the Panjab, and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh; and that it is only in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies that they hold the first place, not of course in point of the number of literates, but as regards percentage of literacy. And in the latter presidency Brahmins are beaten by others in Gujarat and Sind. Let us now place before the reader a tabular statement:

Provinces.	Total Literates.	Literate Brahmins.	Total literates in English.	Brahmin Literates in English.
Assam	326566	40359	35296	6092
Bengal	3522044	472342	494499	129223
Behar-Orissa	1419138	256332	79182	12423
Bombay	1372826	59798	202454	10818
C. P. & Berar	496236	107796	46102	16209
Madras	3093560	408626	274625	93748
Punjab	774845	114853	109101	11564
U. P.	1618465	551518	136616	20209

[In the above table the figures for Burma and N. W. F. Province have not been given; as the number of Brahmin literates there is insignificant.]

It will appear from the above table that in no province is the majority of literates or the majority of literates in English Brahmins.

The franchise will be given to people either according to property qualifications or according to educational qualifications or both. If the possession of property were made the sole qualification Brahmins would occupy a low place in the electorates. Even according to educational qualifications they will not have a predominating position in any province. But even if Home Rule led at first to an oligarchy of some sort, that would not be anything unusual. Sir J. D. Rees asks on the subject of the "Brahmin oligarchy": "Were there no Whig oligarchies in Britain? Will a stage be skipped in India.....Why jib so at the oligarchy? Wait till the masses object." In reviewing Prof. Ramsay Muir's "National Government. Its Growth and Principles. The culmination of Modern

History (Constable. 8s. 6s. net).," *The Times Literary Supplement* of July 11, 1918, writes:—

In the middle of the eighteenth century popular government existed in England; it was in many ways very imperfect; the power was in fact concentrated in the hands of a small group of aristocratic families, but, none the less, as was felt and known at the time, no Government could maintain itself in the country unless it was really in accordance with the public opinion, not only of the comparatively few who had the right to vote, but of the great mass of the people who in fact were never reluctant to make their views and their power heard, if necessary by violence and rioting.

It is, therefore, mere pharisaism to object to an oligarchy in India. But we repeat, as we have conclusively shown, that there is not the least probability of an oligarchy being established in India.

Persons Killed by Wild Animals and Snakes.

A statement has been given in the *Gazette of India* of the number of persons killed in each province of British India by wild animals (specifying the principal kinds) and snakes in each year from 1913 and 1917. We give below the totals for 1913 and 1917:

Province	Number of Persons killed by wild animals in	
	1913	1917
Madras	308	568
Bombay	20	34
Bengal	293	341
U. P.	137	166
Punjab	10	24
Burma	59	81
Bihar & Orissa	546	655
C. P. & Berar	125	158
Assam	102	138
N.-W. F. Prov.	2	6

In every province more men have been killed in 1917 than in 1913. Have Indians grown weaker and more timid in every province? Or it may be the wild animals have advanced in civilisation at a faster rate than the men; for, the power to kill is a mark of civilisation. A more prosaic explanation may perhaps be found in the number of licenses for arms issued in each year and the total number of such licenses in force in each year. This will be found in a table given in a subsequent note.

The number of men killed by snakes in each year in each province has also been given in the *Gazette*. The first figure given below against the name of a province

is the number for 1913, and the next figure for 1917. Madras, 1695, 1452; Bombay, 1406, 1527; Bengal, 4491, 4393; United Provinces, 5166, 6481; Panjab, 899, 957; Burma, 1044, 1873; Bihar and Orissa, 1940, 5885; C. P. and Berar, 1155, 1524; Assam, 167, 151; N.-W. F. Province, 29, 25. So snakes also have not begun, on the whole, to take a smaller toll of human lives than before; as in the whole country 21770 persons were killed by snakes in 1913, and 23,918 in 1917.

Number of Wild Animals and Snakes Destroyed by Men.

We give below a few figures from the official return of the number of wild animals and snakes killed by men.

Provinces.	Wild animals killed in		Snakes killed in	
	1913	1917	1913	1917
Madras	2238	1898	.....	.....
Bombay	3471	2937	37396	25035
Bengal	2858	412	17134	1205
U. P.	2659	2640	5310	4999
Panjab	3080	492	3080	15026
Bihar-Orissa	1550	1046	16784	9171
C.P. & Berar	1902	1564	1265	728
Burma	5311	5873	16222	16398
Assam	1988	1490	1981	322
N.-W. F. Pro.	90	44	595	396

It will be found that in most provinces the number of wild animals and snakes killed by men in 1917 was less than the number killed in 1913. 24,630 wild animals were killed in India in 1913, and 19,476 in 1907. 90,186 snakes were killed in 1913 in India and 73,968 in 1917. It is thus discouraging to find that wild animals and snakes are killing more men in the country than before whereas men are killing smaller numbers of wild animals and snakes than before.

Number of Licenses for Arms.

The total number of licenses for arms in force was as follows in the provinces and years noted below. We omit the smaller provinces, as in the tables in previous notes.

	1913	1917
Madras	47511	45509
Bombay	15231	13563
Bengal	26961	8042
U. P.	22952	6357
Panjab	13876	6219
Burma	7390	8051
Bihar and Orissa	12799	11247
C. P. & Berar	16070	15511
Assam	13046	13114
N.-W. F. Provinces	5517	7717

In most provinces the number of licenses in force was smaller in 1917 than in 1913. This is particularly conspicuous in the case of the United Provinces, Bengal, and the Punjab. The country has been practically in a disarmed condition for a long period. These provinces have been further disarmed more than the others. What is the reason for the disarmament of each of these provinces and of the country as a whole? That the country as a whole is being gradually disarmed will be clear from the following figures showing the total number of licenses in force in India in each year from 1913 to 1917:

1913	182412
1914	176779
1915	167242
1916	137183
1917	136707

Let us now see how many licenses were granted in 1913 and 1917 in the different provinces.

Province	1913	1917
Madras	3096	4302
Bombay	2727	1888
Bengal	3230	392
U. P.	3162	594
Punjab	1636	1279
Burma	1330	1201
Bihar and Orissa	753	531
C. P. and Berar	7613	4903
Assam	216	305
N. W. F. Prov.	1805	3625

The number of fresh licenses issued has been reduced in a most glaring manner in Bengal and the United Provinces. "The most timid" province could be trusted with the smallest number of fresh licenses in the country. Yet the Governor of Bengal asked the people of Mymensingh what they had done in the way of fighting political dacoities and other revolutionary crimes, knowing that in 6 years the Bengal Government had reduced the number of licenses from 26961 to 8042, and that in 1917 it had issued only 392 licenses as against 3230 in 1913. In two provinces the number of licenses issued in 1917 was larger than in 1913. The reason for this greater favour shown to them is not apparent. However, taking the country as a whole, the number of fresh licenses issued each year has gone on steadily decreasing except for one year. The figures are given against each year: 1913—25627; 1914—23016; 1915—19975; 1916—20577;

1917-19316. These figures combined with those for the total number of licenses in force in each year, given before, afford one explanation of the increasing helplessness of Indian human beings in the presence of wild animals, as also of the increasing destructiveness of the latter.

The area of British Indian territory, according to the census of 1911, is 1,093,074 square miles. 136,707 licenses for this area works out at about one license (and presumably one fire-arm) for every 8 square miles. The population of British India is more than 244 millions. For the protection of these myriads, there are about one-eighth of million licenses. This means that there is probably one fire-arm for the protection of about 1786 persons.

The total number of towns and villages in British territory, as given in *Statistics of British India, Educational*, for 1911-12, is 584322. We can therefore safely say that in at least three villages out of every four there is no one licensed to carry or use arms.

"Against Home Rule."

Mr. N. S. Raman, Secretary, Sahodara Sangham Office, Cranganore, has sent us a leaflet entitled "Against Home Rule." We quote the first three paragraphs.

One of the Taluqs of Cochin State is Cranganore, a place of immense historical significance from very ancient days. Nearly four miles in extent, this place is inhabited by divers communities, the Nairs, Brahmins, Ezhavas and Muhammadans. The Ezhavas, the Valans, the Pulayas, and other sub-castes number more than eight thousand, and they are commonly grouped under the depressed classes. There are few men who have received English education among them; but they can be proud of many men who have attained mental culture through Sanskrit learning. They are physically very strong and stalwart; they eke out their living by honest professions and various kinds of manual labour. In point of cleanliness, even their deadly foes will admit that they are far advanced.

Many crude and strange practices which have clothed the essence of Hinduism in a veil of obscurity, are being observed in these parts with all their superstitious rigidity. The detestable custom of distance pollution which has even marred the social harmony, and which caused the great Swami Vivekananda to give Kerala the opprobrious epithet of the lunatic asylum, has got a very strong hold on the minds of the higher caste Hindus of Cranganore. The use of even public roads is seriously denied to the so-called low caste Hindus. Some of the public schools are closed to their children; consequently they are allowed to be drowned in gross illiteracy. Even in some of the bazaars they are strictly prohibited to enter. Smarting under the humiliating oppression and the vilest type of tyranny

of the so-called higher castes, more than eight thousand poor souls are dragging on a precarious existence. They are beaten black and blue along the public roads. Many a horrible scene of open violence and high-handedness is daily witnessed all over Cranganore. Such deeds of flagrant injustice are hardly recorded in the pages of history, and the only modern parallel that can be drawn is the manifold sufferings of the Indians in South Africa. The poor victims subjected to the galling yoke of the so-called higher castes remain, inarticulate; therefore no attention of a Gandhi or Gokhale could be drawn to their cause.

The crying grievances of more than 300,000 members of the depressed classes in Cochin state were brought to the notice of the authorities concerned, by means of petitions and deputations but why any effective remedy is not yet proposed is beyond comprehension. However they are driven to despair and their only hope of gaining social salvation lies in their embrace of Christian or Muhammadan faith.

This is very painful and humiliating reading. The social tyranny to which attention has been called here cannot be too severely condemned. The Cochin State cannot of course make the "holy" Brahmins and others treat the "depressed" classes as their social equals, but it is its bounden duty to remove all civic disabilities. For instance, public roads and public schools should be as much at their disposal as of others. The "higher" castes should recognise the common humanity of these classes. It is surprising that worms, reptiles, pigs and dogs can use public roads, but not these sisters and brethren of ours. Do the "holy" Brahmins of Cochin feel "polluted" if they see a dog or a pig or a cat or a mouse or a fly or a mosquito or a cow or a goat at the distance of a few inches, feet or yards from them?

The ill-treatment of the depressed classes is not an argument against Home Rule; it ought rather to incite these classes to obtain political power so that they may be able to improve their own condition. The leaflet itself mentions the sufferings of Indians in South Africa. But these Indians have never said that their sufferings were an argument against self-rule in South Africa; on the contrary they wish to improve their position by gradually obtaining citizens' rights. The Negroes in America are in some respects treated as badly as and in some respects worse than the "depressed" classes in Kerala. (*Vide "Towards Home Rule," Part I.*) But they do not contend that for that reason the republican form of government should be abolished. On the contrary, they want more political rights than they have got, so that they may cease to be oppressed.

They are fighting most loyally and enthusiastically in the present war along with their white fellow-citizens. Our "depressed" sisters and brethren should follow the same policy.

Stationing of Military in Madura.

In the course of the trial of Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu in Madura for alleged sedition crowds gathered about the court premises, and there was some shooting and bayoneting by the police. Military have also been stationed in Madura. *The Commonwealth* has published a dispassionate and well-reasoned article on the affair by Mr. A. Rangaswamy Aiyar, in which the writer says:—

The Government of Madras has declined to accede to the request of the citizens of Madura voiced at a public meeting presided over by Mr. V. Ramachandra Aiyar, one of the leading gentlemen in the city, for the appointment of an independent body to enquire into the matter of bayoneting and shooting by the police on the 27th of last month by which some were injured and two died, and which took place on the second day of the trial of Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu for alleged sedition. The refusal of the Madras Government to institute such an independent tribunal to enquire into the whole matter is an unfortunate circumstance which must detract considerably from the weight and authority which must attach to any other kind of enquiry like the one which is going on at present. Mr. Paddison, the present Collector of Madura, is as good a district officer as it is possible to get in these times and as would be desired in any district, calm in temperament, tactful, conciliatory, and capable of entering into and understanding the aspirations for a freer life on the part of a race different from his own, and deserves the high praise of the Madras Government that it has the highest confidence in him. But in a matter where serious allegations are made against the police including its higher ranks in the district, and when there has been evidently a panic in the minds of the authorities and some of the English residents in the city—which led to their assembling the members of their families in the premises of their English club strongly patrolled by the military or those undergoing military training, about the time the above occurrence took place—it is apparent that persons locally selected for making the enquiry cannot be supposed to be free from preconceived notions and prejudices in the estimation of the public whose satisfaction, it must be conceded, is one of the main objects of such an enquiry, whatever be the esteem or respect to which the persons making the enquiry may be otherwise entitled.

The District Magistrate is also practically responsible for the policing of the district, and hence an investigation by him into the doings of the police cannot but be looked upon as to some extent partaking of the character of an accused conducting his own trial.

Mr. Aiyar shows conclusively that the

food-riots in Madras Presidency were not at all due to political agitation, as officially alleged. He also says that the crowd which had gathered during Dr. Naidu's trial was not responsible for any excesses. "The only excesses that were manifested were the bayoneting and the shooting of innocent men in the crowd, and the injuries and deaths caused thereby, which were certainly not excesses for which the people are responsible." Considering all the circumstances the writer concludes:

Under the above circumstances, the location of sepoys and soldiers in Madura City has no justification. It is said that the Municipality has been directed to defray the cost of maintaining these sepoys; and the warrant is much less for any punitive action against the citizens of Madura, if it turns to be such. Gathering of sympathetic crowds during a State trial in India does not betoken any serious state of affairs affecting public tranquillity as they do in European countries where mobbing, rioting and breaking of windows are often the outcome if more serious results do not ensue. But in India they do not mean anything more except that the crowds are prepared to sit and wait for a number of hours, as a token of sympathy and interest on the part of many and as a *Tamasha* on the part of the rest. The location of the military in Madura City at the present time can only be an artificial demonstration coming into existence *ex post facto* that the situation in Madura was so serious and of alarming proportions as to justify the bayoneting and shooting of innocent men.

Therefore there is all the more reason for the whole situation being enquired into by independent and impartial agency unconnected with local prejudices or predilections.

Report of the Imperial Council Committee on the Reform Scheme.

Most of the suggestions or recommendations made in the report of the Imperial Council Committee on the Reform Scheme make for progress. The Notes of dissent of the Indian members are on more progressive lines than the body of the report, with the exception of Mr. Sunder Singh's note, who urges special representation of the Sikhs on the same lines as of the Mussalmans. Nor do we think it necessary on general grounds to allow separate representation to the Indian mercantile community, though we admit its necessity as a counterpoise against the special and separate representation given to European merchants. We do not understand why the special representation of the landholders has been recommended to be increased from 2 to 6. Two is quite enough. The more special representation is given to particular classes, the less representation there would be of the mass

of the people and the greater would the injustice be to them.

Burma wants Political rights.

It is quite right and natural that the people of Burma should wish to share in the constitutional progress of the Indian Empire. The Upper Burma public recently discussed the Reform Scheme at a public meeting held in Mandalay on the 8th ultimo. It was said at the meeting that the Secretary of State who did not visit Burma during his mission to India, did not get the opportunity to have all the facts about Burma placed before him. Burmans were superior to the Indians in many respects; viz., the absence of any caste system, social advancement and the high percentage of literacy. Burma had one of the best seaports in the Indian Empire. Her hidden mineral wealth, her valuable forests and the large amount of revenue collected annually in Burma all combine to testify Burma's fitness to enjoy the same political rights and privileges as the other major provinces. The meeting regretted the allegation made in the Report that Burma's desire for elective institutions was not developed. The memorials submitted to the Secretary of State and His Excellency the Viceroy bear ample testimony to the fact that Burma did desire elective institutions. Throwing open the public service more widely to Indians (Burmans in the case of Burma) would not mean, as suggested in the report, the replacement of one alien bureaucracy by another race and perhaps another. The people belong to another race but by no means in a more backward stage of political development. Burmans at the time in the past did rule an Empire and there is no reason why they should be unable to rule themselves when the same democratic principles as have been extended to the British Colonies inhabited by white people, come to be extended to India and Burma.

Several resolutions were passed at the meeting, their special feature being the ensuring of the proper representation of Burmans and the safeguarding of their interests.

A Mother's Cry.

Srimati Dakshayani Dasi, mother of Babu Jyotishchandra Ghosh has again sent a memorial to the Viceroy. As the reader is aware of the history of the case, it is not necessary to summarise it from the memorial. In the 8th paragraph, the mother respectfully submits:—

(i) That her son Jyotish is lying for about a year and a half in the same awful condition of absolute stupor with insanity.

(ii) That at Berhampore though proper arrangements as to nursing and feeding have been made for him, arrangement as to proper treatment have not been adequate, and the best medical treatment available in Bengal has not been accorded to him.

(iii) That a change in the environment of detention in order to remove the "stressful situations" and a change in the system of treatment ought to be made now without any further delay.

(iv) That in order to awaken his consciousness he should be placed in a condition where he may feel that he is no longer under restraint and where familiar stimuli may act upon him.

(v) That every attempt should now be made in these directions at any cost so that his life may, if possible, be saved; for, human life has a value of its own and the responsibility for it is no less grave.

(vi) And that lastly she has a right to know the causes of his present moribund condition and insanity and the Government are morally bound to explain them.

"In consideration of the above, your Excellency's humble Memorialist, a heart-broken and aggrieved mother, most fervently prays that Your Excellency would be graciously pleased

(i) to order his immediate removal to Calcutta with proper arrangements as to nursing and feeding there;

(ii) to place him, under the necessary supervision of the Government, in a condition where he may feel that he is no longer under restraint;

(iii) to allow Your Excellency's humble memorialist and her relatives to live with him, so that he may feel that he is in a familiar environment and under constant attendance and care of his near and dear ones;

(iv) to make arrangements as to place him under the Ayurvedic System of Medical treatment (in which she has much faith);

(v) and to hold a thorough investigation into the causes which have brought about his present awful condition.

We support this prayer most strongly.

Acknowledgment of Donation.

Babu Ramananda Chatterjee, Treasurer, Bankura Sammilani, begs to acknowledge with thanks the following donation in addition to those acknowledged last month:—

Mrs. Kumudini Ganti ... Rs. 22-12-0